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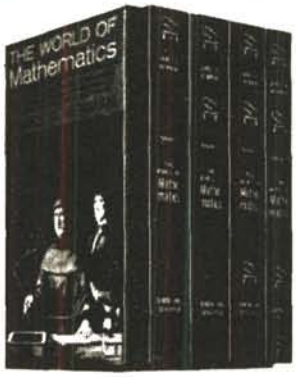

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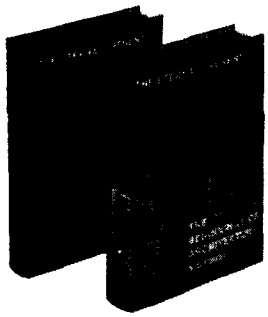

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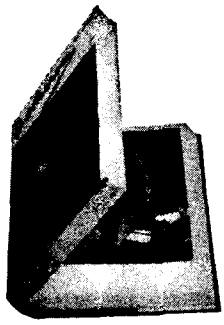

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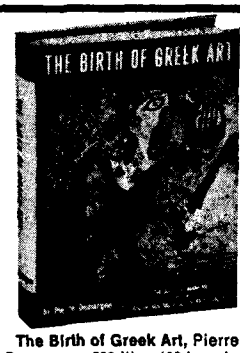

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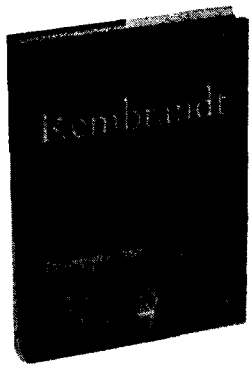

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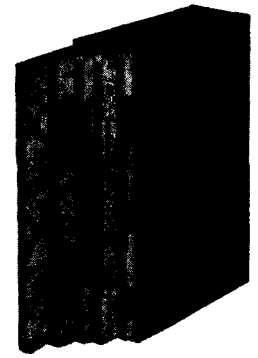

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T.R.B. from Washington

Own Worst Enemy?

★ The President "gulped himself to show how Bobby (Kennedy) had done it," according to Theodore White's *The Making of the President – 1964*. The President was telling three reporters how Kennedy reacted last July when Mr. Johnson told him that he would not give him second-place on the ticket. The three newsmen were at a private four-hour White House lunch. Next day the story was all over town. Bobby told the President he had supposed their conversation was secret. When the President denied talking about the meeting, according to White, Bobby said he was "not telling the truth," and the President said he would check his calendar "to see whether he had forgotten some conversation he might have had."

The press corps is always growling at the President. You can see why. If the foregoing account isn't true, most of the press feels it might have been true. Here are other examples.

Columnist Joseph Alsop is a warhawk backing LBJ. Yet last week he complained of the Presidential secrecy that makes it impossible to tell whether the recent B-52 Guam-to-Vietnam raid was a success or failure. Under title, "Anemic Dialogue," he wrote, ". . . Informing the American public has all but become a high crime. . . . It is also an idiotic state of affairs by which the biggest loser is no one but Lyndon B. Johnson, as the B-52 episode has again proved."

Take these abbreviated excerpts from David Susskind's "Open End," reprinted by James Wechsler in the *NY Post*. Back from Santo Domingo three respected US newsmen were telling how "the list" of alleged key Communists was issued:

Dan Kurzman, *Washington Post*: "When American reporters pushed the American Embassy for evidence that the Communists were taking over, they finally agreed to give us a whole list."

Tad Szulc, *NY Times*: "No, they didn't agree, they forced it on us."

Kurzman: "Okay. Well, first they gave us a list of 53 hard-core Communists. Later they gave us a 13-page treatise."

John Barnes, *Newsweek*: "Which they had distributed in the US before."

Kurzman: "Apparently so we couldn't check it on the spot. And then we started checking it. I found that of the three who were supposed to have been given jobs by the Caamaño government, one turned out to be a die-hard conservative, another was a naval officer known to be a conservative and another ——"

Szulc: "One of them was 10 years old."

Kurzman: "No, let's not exaggerate. He was 15 years old, and he'd never had an official job."

That is example No. 2. You see what we mean? And finally here is a comment by respected White House correspondent, Robert Roth, of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, May 30: ". . . Mr. Johnson has taken a position not espoused – publicly at any rate – by any other President. This is that it is the function and the duty of the press to promote and defend the position of the Administration with other nations. In this theory, dissent becomes equated with disloyalty, and active opposition with treason. Without in any way intimating that President Johnson aspires to be a dictator, it is fair to point out that this has been the position of every totalitarian government ever known. . . ."

Bold Idea

★ President Johnson is often accused of offering Congress only warmed-over Truman-Kennedy "consensus" ideas. This isn't so. The Johnson federal rent subsidy program is one of the boldest ever sent Congress. Substandard tenements are universal in American slums. Hitherto the government has half-heartedly tried to remedy this by building public housing – gaunt and institutional. It hasn't worked.

Now Mr. Johnson has come up with a radical new idea in the omnibus housing bill. He would encourage non-profit groups to build decent private housing, offered at standard rents. Families of modest means would get a "supplement," i.e. subsidy, from the government to help pay these rents. The subsidy would be flexible, to bridge the gap between an arbitrary one-fourth of the family's income, and the rent.

The Smiths, say, are an elderly couple. Total income, $4,000. A non-profit cooperative builds quarters which rent at $1,400 a year. For the Smiths the government pays a rent supplement of $400 a year (the difference between 25 percent of their income, or $1,000, and the $1,400 rent). The government's check goes to the cooperative, not to the Smiths.

The group aimed at is not the destitute or very poor; the latter are eligible for public housing. This is for the income scale above that: handicapped or elderly people, or those of moderate means jammed into slums. The guess is there are four million families in this category, including those people who have been displaced by government operations. There will be 300,000 more persons displaced in the next four years. Some won't be able to get decent housing.

This is a new idea. It is intensely controversial. The time may not be ripe for it. But don't let it be said that Mr. Johnson offers only trite plans to Congress.

Vietnam Trap

★ The President now seems trapped politically by Vietnam. Whatever he does the Republicans have him. This was predicted, of course, and is now a fact. Negotiate? Rep. Melvin Laird and Goldwater call it "appeasement." Send in more ground troops? Laird, Goldwater & Co. denounce it; we ought to win the war the "easy" way by all-out bombing. More casualties? This is the President's fault for not turning things over to the generals. It is "Lyndon's War," just as Korea was "Truman's War." Demagogy of course, but it may be the big GOP vote-getter. It will pressure LBJ for more bombing; nuclear bombs perhaps.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 153 Number 1 Issue 2641 July 3, 1965*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

THE WEEK – Kennedy and China; Russell Long's Capers; The Charge of Immorality; Small, Fine Print; Long Hot Summer 5

Same Young Fogies – *Julius Duscha* 8
Education for Negroes in the Space Capital – *Barbara Patterson* 9
"Over a Billion for the First Plane" – *Robert Burkhardt* 10
Who and What Is the Real Boumedienne? – *Russell Warren Howe* 11
The Dominican Imbroglio – *Norman Gall* 12
A Fresh Look at the University of California – *William Trombley* 14
Chicago – The Low Rent District – *Richard Cooper* 15
Liberals and John Lindsay – *Alexander M. Bickel* 16
Globalism – *Hans J. Morgenthau* 19

BOOKS – *Reviews by Harrison E. Salisbury, Alex Campbell, Gerald W. Johnson* 23
FILMS *by Stanley Kauffmann* 27
CORRESPONDENCE 29

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Kennedy and China

The Chinese Communists profess willingness to negotiate about nuclear weapons, as suggested last week by Senator Robert Kennedy. The Senator said that, to prevent nuclear proliferation, the US "at an appropriate time and manner should vigorously pursue negotiations on this subject with China." Chinese willingness to negotiate wouldn't ensure the negotiations would get anywhere, of course. But after exploding its second atomic bomb on May 14, the Chinese government repeated its earlier proposal for "a summit conference of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons." The May 14 Chinese communique also said: "China will never be the first to use nuclear weapons." No such US pledge exists. One way to help determine if the Chinese pledge is worth anything is to talk with them about it. Senator Kennedy pointed out that earlier last month 70 nations urged at the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations that China be included in any agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The US government supports – in principle – a treaty to prevent such a spread. But whenever there is a threat of actual negotiation the US tends to mutter through official spokesmen that any conference that includes the Chinese will be turned by them into a propaganda circus which will only impede progress toward disarmament. This would make more sense if any progress whatever toward disarmament were discernible. Quite the contrary. Last November, President Johnson appointed a special committee headed by former Defense Under-Secretary Roswell L. Gilpatric to study the problem of nuclear spread. Its report was submitted to the White House three months ago, and was classified. Senator Kennedy said he would like to see the committee's work "carried forward by all concerned agencies of the government." But, according to Senator Clinton Anderson, the Gilpatric report is so top secret it has hitherto been withheld from both the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Senator Kennedy feels there's no more time to lose. So does William C. Foster, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who says that even some months of further delay could be fatal. Five nations now have the capacity to explode nuclear bombs, said the Senator. Within three years, he thinks, the number may be more than a score. Relatively speaking, almost anybody can make the damned things, now or very soon. And, said Senator Kennedy, "once nuclear

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war were to start, even between small, remote countries, it would be exceedingly difficult to stop a step-by-step progression of local war into a general conflagration. Eighty million Americans – and hundreds of millions of other people – would die within the first 24 hours of a full-scale nuclear exchange." Is the Senator being too pessimistic? Not according to Defense Secretary McNamara, who told the House Armed Services Committee in February that the US might have 149 million fatalities if attacked by nuclear weapons in 1970. That's only five years from now. Once nuclear weapons spread, Senator Kennedy warned, there can be no disarmament. Here's how he sees the picture then: "A bomb obliterates the capital city of a nation in Latin America, or Africa, or Asia – or even the Soviet Union, or the United States. How was it delivered – by plane? by missile? by car or ship? There is no evidence. From where did it come – a jealous neighbor? an internal dissident? a great power bent on stirring up trouble – or an anonymous madman? There is only speculation. And what can be the response? – what but a reprisal grounded on suspicion, leading in ever-widening circles to the utter destruction of the world we know."

The Senator suggested that the US as one of the two super-powers should try to get the world moving again, in a number of directions all aimed at preventing the deadly spread. The steps he proposed include nuclear-free zones, with Latin America and Africa for starters; extension of the test-ban treaty to cover underground tests just as fast as scientific progress in detection makes it possible to do this without endangering security; a freeze followed by a cut-back in the myriads of nuclear weapons possessed by the US and Russia; and a non-proliferation treaty to bind nations neither to give nor receive nuclear arms. Senator Kennedy is in a hurry, and admits it. We can't, he says, wait for peace in Southeast Asia ("which will not come until nuclear weapons have spread beyond recall"), or for a general European settlement ("which has not existed since 1914").

There are people who will say that Senator Kennedy is not just in a hurry, he is in a panic of appeasement. He isn't. His sober warning needs to be heeded: "With every day that passes, the likelihood increases that another nation will develop the Bomb."

Russell Long's Capers

Senator Russell Long of Louisiana continues to confound the congressional world by his ability to court both the liberal and conservative poles without wrapping himself around either. After coming down strong on the side of an anti-poll-tax statute, he voted against the voting rights bill. Last week he fought for two amendments to the Medicare bill: one to extend hospitalization coverage for an indefinite length of time, and the other to set up a kind of "means test" for the part of the hospital bill an individual has to chip in before the government begins to pay.

The first amendment had liberal support, and won a narrow vote in the Finance Committee. The second extension of coverage – had conservative (and American Medical Association) support and won hugely. It was not until some Senators returned to their offices that they found the proposed sliding scale of "deductibles" would actually increase costs of medical care for many of those who most need aid. Under the Administration bill, a person earning $1,500 a year would pay the first $40 of his hospital bill; that is the standard rate for everyone. Under Long's amendment, the same person would pay the first $80; someone earning $3,000 a year (still at the poverty level) would pay $180, and so on.

As Social Security supporters have been saying for years, the basis of the system is variable payments and equal benefits. Opponents of Social Security would like the system (including Medicare) to be a kind of Social Charity, with people permanently stratified into classes by a sliding rate of benefits according to income. Senator Long quite accurately calls the Administration's Medicare plan (and, by implication, Social Security) "socialistic," and warns that when it is extended to the whole population regardless of age – as he and everyone else knows it will be – the US will have got "socialized medicine" without admitting the fact.

After some classic political infighting, the Finance Committee reversed itself and rejected both amendments. Long is unperturbed; he may bring them up again when the bill reaches the Senate floor. He doesn't think he can win, but it does his Louisiana heart good to see his friends squirm.

The Charge of Immorality

At last the courts have taken to task the Civil Service Commission for procedures it follows in hiring employees of the federal government. In a 2-1 decision the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit held that a man could not be disqualified for government employment because of vague, unspecified charges of homosexual conduct. He had applied for a job in the Department of Agriculture.

After taking competitive examinations for federal civil service employment, this man was notified by the government in 1962 that he had qualified for a personnel position, subject to further investigation. Later that same year he went before a Civil Service investigator

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who asked him to explain a 1947 arrest for "loitering," a 1951 arrest for "investigation," and "information" in the hands of the Civil Service Commission "indicating that you are a homosexual." The man explained the 1947 arrest, said he was not specifically charged with a violation of law in 1951, and refused to comment on the charges of his alleged homosexuality because he did "not believe the question is pertinent in so far as job performance is concerned." He soon was disqualified for federal employment because of "immoral conduct." He then requested a specification of how, when and where he had conducted himself immorally. The Commission's Board of Appeals and Review would say only that, "the record disclosed convincing evidence that you have engaged in homosexual conduct, which is considered contrary to generally recognized and accepted standards of morality. . . ." The case was unsuccessfully carried to the Federal District Court, then taken to the Court of Appeals.

For the majority, Chief Judge David L. Bazelon and Judge Carl McGowan both held that the government needed to be specific in its charge. Bazelon went further: "The Commission excluded appellant from public employment because it concluded that he had engaged in immoral conduct. With this stigma, the Commission not only disqualified him from the vast field of all employment dominated by the Government but also jeopardized his ability to find employment elsewhere. The stigmatizing conclusion was supported only by statements that appellant was a 'homosexual' and had engaged in homosexual conduct. These terms have different meanings for different people. They therefore require some specification. The Commission must at least specify the conduct it finds 'immoral' and state why that conduct related to 'occupational competence or fitness,' especially since the Commission's action involved the gravest consequences. Appellant's right to be free from governmental defamation requires that the Government justify the necessity for imposing the stigma of disqualification for 'immoral conduct'."

Small, Fine Print

The Labor Department is recruiting teams of "athletically inclined" high school boys to help ease the shortage of farm laborers created when Congress ended the *bracero* program last December. The project, known as "A-Team" (Athletes in Temporary Employment as Agricultural Manpower), was designed to give summer jobs to teen-agers and, at the same time, to prove Secretary Wirtz's contention that a little resourceful recruiting would bring in more than enough domestic workers to replace the heretofore imported field hands.

The Department enlisted the help of Stan Musial, chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness, and a team of star athletes to publicize the program and to recruit squads of 21 to 30 boys, who would be supervised both on and off the job by teachers from their high schools. There are now about 1,500 of these youngsters at work as migrant farmers.

The recruitment brochure promised that their pay would be governed by their performance. "The maximum is up to you but in no case," it assured them, "will you earn less than the applicable minimum ($1.15 to $1.40 per hour)."

Recently 61 boys from Los Alamos, New Mexico, reported for work with California's Salinas Strawberries, Inc. There they were told that the minimum wage was in effect for the first week. Thereafter, if they could not each pick a 12-crate daily quota of berries, they would have to sign "voluntary" waivers agreeing to go on a piece-rate basis. (These provisions, it turned out, were contained in the small print of the contract which the Labor Department's recruiter in Española, New Mexico had not bothered to tell them about.)

Quotas are set to make sure laborers work hard, and supposedly they represent the average worker's average output. The trouble was none of the Los Alamos boys could make "average." All were asked to sign waivers. They quit instead.

Audie Woodard, counsellor for the group, said that only one or two youngsters came close to meeting the quota during the first week, but that perhaps by the end of the summer, half could have picked enough berries to earn the minimum wage. Woodard said that other teams working for Salinas Strawberries understood the terms of the jobs before they packed their bags and left home. Some plan to stick it out.

Long Hot Summer

The long hot summer is icumen in, under the watchful eye of Vice President Humphrey and the Community Relations Service. They have attempted to focus attention on 10 Northern cities where racial conflict may break out during the next couple of months, and to devise plans to prevent it.

For the time being, "Operation Long Hot Summer" is being played in the lowest of keys. There is a widespread belief that prophecies of riots are self-fulfilling. Essentially, the C.R.S. has assembled a task force of government agencies – the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Labor Department, and others – to speed up existing programs and develop new ones to take the unemployed off slum streets, to provide recreational facilities, and to give city administrations some support in attempts to open "channels of communication" between the police and the Negro communities. The

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target cities are New York, Boston, Rochester, Newark, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Gary, Detroit, Oakland and Los Angeles, in a smaller way.

On what basis they were selected, it is difficult to say. Others were broached: Mayor Daley of Chicago recoiled in horror at the suggestion that his city might nourish the seeds of Negro discontent and refused to cooperate with the C.R.S. Some of the cities chosen had riots last year, and others narrowly or widely avoided it. Baltimore, Washington, Paterson, Pittsburgh and any number of potentially or historically troublesome cities are not included. No one has any reliable theory of what the operative causes of riots are, nor a picture of how the dynamics of rioting work. The best explanations offered are not much above freshman sociology: "frustrations of the ghetto bubbling over into the streets."

Most of the riots last year were touched off by a police incident – some call it brutality or loss of neutrality. The riots themselves, unlike historical race riots, were battles of Negroes *versus* police, not Negroes *versus* whites. The appalling conditions of the slums (huge unemployment rates, execrable housing conditions, pervasive hopelessness) produce an alienated population capable of rioting, but not inevitably committed to it. The "violence of frustration and despair," as the New York attorney, William Stringfellow, calls it, follows no pattern except hot weather and small irritations. Little is known of how they spread.

As difficult as it is to analyze or predict these kinds of riots, it is even more difficult to prevent or stop them. Temporary jobs (clearing "vest-pocket parks" or cleaning-up slums) for some Negroes, such as the Labor Department's Neighborhood Youth Corps is planning, will not permanently alleviate ghetto frustrations; the scheme may only give youths the shovels and pick-axes to fight with. Recreational facilities are desirable, but as experience with juvenile delinquents has proved, they are not noticeably effective in solving social problems. The C.R.S. field workers who are trying to enlighten mayors and chiefs of police are running up against the same problems that the Poverty Program inherited from generations of political machines. No city administration wants to admit that things can get out of its control.

Many government officers in the C.R.S. task force are convinced that nothing substantive can be done for the particular summer-1965 problem, but that "Operation Long Hot Summer" can make a start – or quicken the pace – in dealing with the basic problems of the slums. They are increasingly drawn to community action programs, both the official War on Poverty ones and the extracurricular versions run by local organizing groups, as the means to allow slum-dwellers a way out, or at least the hope of a better existence.

Many Negro leaders and a few government civil rights administrators do not see last year's riots as a disaster but rather as something of a beneficence. The long hot summer of 1964 forced Northern whites to confront the "civil rights" problem in their own cities; it could happen here, there and everywhere. The current concern with participation by the poor in the War on Poverty reflects last summer's discoveries.

Same Young Fogies

Miami Beach

"Would you," asked the demure brunette in the front row, "support the impeachment of Earl Warren, as a starter to expose his background?"

The question was directed to a pretty blonde on the rostrum, Jill Dover of Florida. She was the candidate who was elected co-chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, and she said that she did not think much of Chief Justice Warren's ability or of many of "his decisions."

And so the inquisition went into the early morning hours: Do you think the United Nations should be abolished? Do you believe that the test-ban treaty should be abrogated? Do you favor continuation of the US Disarmament Agency? Do you agree that the 1964 Civil Rights Act is unconstitutional? Would you favor abolishing the progressive income tax?

The scene was a crowded meeting room of the Carillon Hotel where the California delegation to the convention of the Young Republican National Federation was holding something called an open caucus. The thoughts of most young men and women who find themselves in Miami Beach at bargain summer rates turn, in the cool of the evening, to moon and June. But California young Republicans preferred to spend their nights giving examinations to candidates for offices in their federation. The Californians were somewhat to the right of most of the other 2,500 young delegates who spent the better part of a week here playing what one former young GOP chairman called "a big Mickey Mouse game."

Their hearts still belong to Goldwater, who received a thunderous reception. "One of 27 Million," read the stickers plastered on coat lapels. Here and there were buttons displaying an airplane and bearing two awful words, "Drop It."

Both of the equally conservative candidates for chairman of the young Republicans, winner Thomas R. Van Sickle of Kansas and loser David T. Flaherty of North Carolina, told press conferences that lack of organization was the key to defeat in '64. Van Sickle ought to know; he was an aide to F. Clinton White, one of the organizers of the draft Goldwater movement in 1963. White rewarded his 27-year-old protégé by see-

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ing to it that Van Sickle got $5,000 for his campaign for the chairmanship of the Young Republicans from the $300,000 remaining in the treasury of the Citizens Committee for Goldwater-Miller.

This 1965 convention was not as unruly as the one in San Francisco in 1963, where fists were used and apples and oranges were hurled across the floor. It still took the young Republicans all of the last night in Miami Beach, however, to agree on a platform which actually supported the 1964 Civil Rights Act but called for the abrogation of the test-ban treaty. The delegates who were looking ahead to 1968 rather than back in anger to 1964 saw a candidate in their future even more handsome and controversial than the aging Goldwater. The new hero is actor Ronald Reagan, the man they hope will be the next governor of California. Why not? Anything's possible in a state that sent actor George Murphy to the Senate. JULIUS DUSCHA

Education for Negroes In the Space Capital

Huntsville, Alabama

Like countless schools for Negroes around the South, the William H. Councill School in Huntsville, Alabama, is named for a notable local Negro, the founder of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College in nearby Normal. Eleven years after the *Brown* decision, which prompted Southern school districts to a rash of outward improvement of Negro education facilities in order to maintain the "separate" by approximating the "equal," the school has another characteristic in common with other all-Negro schools: One can tell very little about the quality of the education from the carefully balanced statistics in board of education publications or from facades of buildings recently erected.

The neighborhood surrounding the school is said to be slated for urban renewal, which is long overdue. A sluggish yellow creek trickles about a block away. Skeletons of ancient trees rot upright and indomitable honeysuckle proliferates among the ruins of shacks, garbage, trash, and automobiles. The small, abandoned one-story buildings in the blocks abutting on the school are decayed from heat, damp, and age. Refuse is everywhere and the earth has long since subdued the paving on the streets. With a wave in the direction of all this, a teacher remarked, "Many of our children come from homes like this and we don't offer them much better right here around school. School ought to show them a better way." But the way three second-graders knew was to have been jumped on that morning walking to Councill High. Their shirts were torn and their lunch money was stolen.

Many of Councill High's 1,108 enrollees come long distances from this pocket of decay. Out 15 miles from town, on what was once a 20-acre Negro cotton farm and is now a middle-class subdivision of aluminum-sided homes for whites, a few modest Negro homes still stand in the lee of a large maple. A band of toddlers through third-graders was larking all over a flat-backed truck loaded with cement bags. "Where do you go to school?"

"Councill High," said Melody. "The bus takes us."

The two-story, rectangular, original brick building looks its age. Since the twenties, three separate additions – cinder block and one-story – have been added. The size of the cafeteria has not expanded with the enrollment. So that everyone may get in to eat, first-graders begin lunch at 10:30 am. Eight mobile classrooms are in use and students must go in and out of buildings in all weather to get to and from classes.

In Huntsville, where 37 major employers have pledged themselves to equal employment opportunities for Negroes and where the public is welcome to view, at the Marshall Space Center, vehicles which have travelled in space and returned, there is a dismayed and continual chorus from the employers: "We can't find enough qualified Negroes to employ." (It is reliably estimated that Negroes comprise one percent of the work force of defense contractors here.) At Councill High, there is one science room with running water, gas outlets and sufficient electricity. There is no other room where gas lines can be or have been run in for the Bunsen burners in boxes, where tables and counters can be installed for the microscopes, and wiring connected to operate the centrifuge. Science classes run in shifts. If a student does not see what he is looking for in the microscope on the first go around he is not likely to have a second opportunity. If his physics experiment doesn't work at first, there is not time to "experiment" again.

The parents, who are dissatisfied, know full well that while this Councill High is far superior to many still all-Negro schools, it is not sufficient for children who will live and work in the space age. The faculty knows more is wrong when they cannot teach without time, room, and equipment. The students know something is at best unequal after they have graduated and are unemployable or unable to enter college. One cannot see from the crumbling mortar between the bricks that Latin and German are not taught, that there is but one guidance counsellor for the entire school, or that there are two sewing machines for the home economics class to make 25 dresses on. One can hear the frustration, however, in a principal's voice when he is asked, "What would you like to see in your school that you don't have?"

"A whole school which is a place where boys and girls can learn." BARBARA PATTERSON

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"Over a Billion for the First Plane"

It isn't easy even for President Johnson to put his brand on a critter as fast as a 2,000 mile-an-hour supersonic transport. But in his press conference June 17th, the President made it clear that his decision to back an American entry in the civil aerospeed race was going to be another example of "all the way with LBJ." As a preamble to his announcement, the President reported that "the Russians have made considerable progress in that field [supersonic transport development]. We watched them with interest and we are glad they have been successful."

Some reporters were a little disappointed that the President did not expand his remarks. At the Paris air show two weeks ago, the Soviets had a variety of large and spectacular aviation and space displays, including the fly-in from Moscow to Paris in 5 hours 5 minutes of a new leviathan-sized air freighter that, according to Russian claims, can lift 80 tons or 800 passengers. Among the spectaculars was *not* a supersonic transport. In fact, the best the Russians could do in this category of aircraft was a table model, cut away to show seats for 121 passengers. In design, as in size, the Russian SST – if their show model is in fact based on anything more than an artist's fancy – bears a strong resemblance to the SST presently being built by Britain and France.

President Johnson gave a verbal nod to the Anglo-French SST effort – the so-called "Concorde" – when he said at his conference that "it won't be long before they have their plane ready." Here again the President could have erred on the optimistic side, for the latest word from Europe indicates that the Concorde will have to undergo another redesign to "stretch" it to 150-passenger capacity. Some critics of the Concorde, including a number of would-be purchasers, have complained that if the Anglo-French SST is to be a profit-maker it must be able to carry at least as many passengers as present-day subsonic jets. Each stretch-out demand, and each effort to increase the range of the Concorde, means a further delay in the time when the world's airlines can begin operating the European SST.

In the meantime the US has a chance to catch up. President Johnson's somewhat Delphic pronouncement is being interpreted in some aviation quarters as meaning that he intends to make sure the US is not going to be the last with the least. Two things are needed immediately to get the American SST program off the ground, the President said. One is the right man for the job of running the cooperative government-industry SST effort. "We have got to get the best brains in this country who know how to build a plane and that is not a civil service worker, or ex-governor, or even manager of an airport," the President told the press. His choice for a czar of the SST program is "Bozo" McKee, the only non-pilot ever to achieve the four stars of a full general in the US Air Force. The President said: "I called him one morning at 7:30 – they agreed he was best – and I said, 'What are you doing?' and he said he didn't have his britches on. And I said, 'Get them on and come on up'."

Shortly after their talk, the President sent word to Congress that he would soon send up the name of William F. McKee, General, USAF (Ret.) to be administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency and boss of the supersonic transport program. Almost immediately the President ran into opposition. Not because of his choice of McKee, but because the Federal Aviation Act forbids the appointment of a military man to head FAA. To qualify for the job, General McKee would have to resign his retired rank and give up his pension. President Johnson thought this was so unfair that he asked congressional leaders to get a bill through which would exempt General McKee from this part of the law. Only after the President telephoned Congressman Harris in Arkansas did the House approve the private bill for the relief of General McKee. The vote in the Senate was 46-20 and the President had won the first round in what is likely to be at least a four-year battle to build a faster and better American SST.

General McKee's Military Occupation Specialty is administration, and he is acknowledged to be one of the best, particularly in the field of aircraft procurement. But even his more ardent admirers, among whom is Defense Secretary McNamara himself, do not claim that the General has any great ability as a fund raiser. It will fall almost entirely on President Johnson's shoulders to get Congress to approve theTreasury share of a program which is certain to involve, just as a starter, a thousand million dollars. In his press conference, the President made no secret of the fact that Congress will control the purse strings, in SST matters at least. "We are going to build it – if Congress gives us the money." How much money? "We want the best plane and we want one the airlines will buy, so therefore it must be a sizable undertaking involving hundreds of millions – over a billion dollars for the first plane."

Almost immediately, perhaps even before General McKee is confirmed by the Senate, the President will have to send a request to Congress for a supplemental appropriation of at least $100 million to keep some momentum in the research and development work now going on. The FAA, out of very limited funds, has been

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making a month-by-month allowance of about $4 million to keep alive the SST work being done by the two airframe companies and the two engine builders who were chosen as finalists in the earlier design competitions for a government-financed SST.

The airframe finalists are Boeing and Lockheed; the two engine companies still in the running are GE and Pratt & Whitney. What these four companies are anxious to know – along with most of the world of commercial aviation – is whether the President will ask for enough money to test their two highly dissimilar design concepts, together with the related power plants or whether one winner will be picked from each team.

On this point the President was silent. It is known, however, that the President's chief SST advisor, Defense Secretary McNamara, the same man who so strongly endorsed General McKee for his new job, favors the one-winner concept. And reports from the government and industry teams that have been studying the massive, delta-shaped, fixed wing design concept submitted by Lockheed, as contrasted to the variable-wing idea – the so-called "switchblade wing" – submitted by Boeing, strongly favor the Boeing proposal. Not only because of a basically better design, but also because Boeing appears to be further ahead than Lockheed in the follow-through of its idea. Some who have studied the two proposals say that Boeing is even ahead of the Concorde design team by as much as a half-year. Similarly the GE engines are said to be more advanced than those proposed by Pratt & Whitney.

ROBERT BURKHARDT

Overthrow of Ben Bella

Who and What Is the Real Boumedienne?

The fall and humiliation of Algerian President Ahmed ben Bella were carefully timed to curtain-raise what Bella intended as his biggest show, the "Second Bandung Conference." Bella's fall creates anxiety among other African heads of government. They too fear coups against them. There is a fever of Afro-Asian diplomacy and espionage in Algeria's dilapidated, Casbah-crowned capital. There is head-shaking in the West, where Bella was the "devil we know."

Colonel Houari Boumedienne's surprise move appears to have followed the now familiar pattern of African military coups: Boumedienne keeps his army post and uniform and his bony hands on the ultimate source of political power, the armory. If he follows the example of recent soldierly usurpers in Africa, he will rule through carefully selected civilian ministers, making only major decisions himself. Only Nasser of Egypt and Abboud of the Sudan forsook the soldier's life completely for the cabinet chamber: Abboud has already paid the price for this mistake.

Boumedienne – who clashed with Bella before and then came to terms – has always been the heir-apparent in Algiers. Still only a colonel, he leads a force of 70,000 men, purged of the more untrainable irregulars of Resistance days, improved by young recruits and modern Communist weaponry, and destined to reach 100,000 men next year. It will be the second most powerful land force on the continent to Egypt's.

Although now criticized for his "policy," Bella probably owes his overthrow more to his personal style of rule, and his administrative incompetence. Of the original *Club des 9* who launched the anti-colonial revolution in 1954, only the egocentric Bella had survived both politically and physically. Now the Madrid and Paris exiles and those (like the Berber leader, Aït Ahmed) who were rusticated to the *bled*, may be allowed to return to public life. Whether the Colonel will be less autocratic than the ex-President remains, however, to be seen. Bella was probably no more absolutist than King Hassan of Morocco, or even than Bourguiba or Nasser.

Despite Boumedienne's gray image as the man with the knife between his teeth, the realities of power in bankrupt Algeria will probably mean that there will be little policy change under the new, single-minded, chain-smoking bachelor leader. He may emphasize some points in the revolutionary program more, and de-emphasize others. He may concentrate on a more ardent pursuit of efficiency: Bella hated paperwork. Like other revolutionary leaders, Boumedienne may try to ensure closer obedience to decisions by putting army officers in charge of projects, plants, administrations, hotels and farms. Like Castro, Boumedienne favors keeping citizens in uniform and makes a personal affectation of being untidily under-dressed himself on state occasions.

But if Boumedienne has idiosyncrasies likely to shape his policy, they are largely unknown – except for his attachment to mystery itself. His reputed leanings to Peking are based on an allegation of Bella's; if China was involved in the coup in any way, Chou en-Lai would presumably have had the sense to delay recognition until after some of the African states. But Boumedienne remains an unknown quantity. His name is a wartime pseudonym, and the real identity of this rough, bluff Oranian with the deep-set, staring eyes has never been made public.

It is hard to see how Boumedienne can make Algeria's Marxism less dependent on Western capitalism. Twenty percent of Algeria's population depend for their daily food on American shipments under PL 480;

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another 20 percent live on remittances from over 600,000 Algerians who work in France. Algiers looks to Paris for $250 million yearly in export subsidies, technical aid, grants and loans, as well as for markets.

Internationally, many will miss Bella. Chou rated him the No. 1 African. But Boumedienne is at least as authentic a Resistance hero, just as zealous a student of Marx. The deposition will rob Bella of his bid to make the Afro-Asian Conference a springboard to leadership of the under-developed world. But it can hardly rob the conference, when it does take place, of its significance, or change its nature. Boumedienne himself shows no signs of seeking a great international image. He has condemned Bella's posturing. The Colonel lacks the charismatic quality that Arabs call *barak'a*. He inherits a country outspokenly tired of revolution, slogans and inflation.

Boumedienne's more parochial view of political affairs leaves vacant the leadership of Africa's "Casablanca Bloc." This is the radical body of dissent within pan-Africanism, still named – despite Morocco's withdrawal – after the city where the group was founded in 1961.

With Egypt, Mali, Ghana and Tanzania, Algeria is a "permanent" member of the Bloc. Countries like Congo-Brazzaville, Burundi and Dahomey come and go in the group as opportunity and expediency dictate. Two founder-members – Guinea and Morocco – have since quietly rallied to African orthodoxy.

Bella, since 1963, has been *primus inter pares* in the Casablanca Bloc. Neither Nasser nor Mali's Modibo Keita enjoys the respect of the anti-radical majority of African leaders as Bella did. Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah is distrusted, and Tanzania's weak Julius Nyerere inspires affection but little confidence. Guinea's Sekou Touré, who could return to the radical camp on a whim, is well respected, but lacks the backing of a country big enough to be taken seriously.

Algeria, under its new, more inward-looking direction, may even opt silently out of the Bloc; for the Bloc, although radical in its pronouncements, has always been characterized by an attitude rather than an ideology. Leading "Casablanca" states seek to extend their own influence, rather than promote unity, in Africa. Whenever possible, the Bloc has fought against big pan-African groupings or potentially rich economic unions. Boumedienne, if he has extra-territorial dreams of power at all, probably looks no further than his immediate Arab neighbors.

Tunisia – and to some extent Morocco and Libya – will be watching anxiously to see if there is now to be a radical Algiers-Cairo Axis. Bella saw Nasser as a rival, even an enemy. He belittled Nasser in conversation with African leaders and correspondents. Boumedienne's public respect for Nasser seems more genuine, and Nasser's offer of a gilded cage in Egypt for the Algerian ex-President will inevitably raise suspicions among Bella's Algiers partisans that the whole coup was partly planned on the banks of the Nile.

Will Boumedienne seek to export Algeria's revolution? Like Bella, he is a believer in the fertility of conflict, in shock-curing Caliban by teaching him constructive murder. He probably believes that Africa is "ripe for revolution." But Boumedienne has always seemed a more practical, administrative fanatic than Bella, and this, plus his apparent reluctance to fish in foreign African waters, may at least make him wait until Algeria's revolution reaches Castro's standards before inviting others to emulate his work.

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE

GETTING IN IS EASIER THAN GETTING OUT

The Dominican Imbroglio

Santo Domingo

On June 18, not quite two days after a 36-hour battle between armed civilian rebels and American paratroops in which the United States-dominated OAS peace force occupied 50 city blocks of rebel territory, the OAS presented its bland peace terms: general amnesty, elections within nine months, a new constitutional assembly and surrender to the OAS of all 20,000 weapons taken from Dominican armories nine weeks ago at the beginning of this miserable and protracted civil war.

The OAS proposal has been received with interest in the rebel sector – the downtown area of tinderbox slums and four-century-old buildings that is being defended mostly by civilians behind pathetic piles of sandbags. Roughly 70 percent of the area's inhabitants have left their homes. Mortar, bazooka and recoilless rifle fire from the international security corridor has

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demolished several buildings in the rebel zone. After an exchange of shots near the corridor, for which each side blamed the other, American paratroops moved forward almost at will deep into rebel territory, then retired to positions three blocks beyond the line agreed to a month before in the OAS-endorsed "Pact of Santo Domingo." About 75 persons, mostly noncombatants, were killed in that exchange and more than 200 wounded, and another 500 Dominicans were taken prisoner by American troops.

The Strike That Fizzled

The rebels only heightened the general impression of their weakness with a farcical attempt at a nationwide general strike. With their radio effectively jammed by the US-supported Imbert junta, with movement of their personnel outside the rebel zone watched if not controlled, with the country's newspapers closed since late April, with the provinces reeling from brutal repression over the past several weeks by the Imbert police, the rebels gave only two days' notice of the strike. "I only learned about it a few days ago through some friends," said the provincial leader of deposed President Juan Bosch's *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* (PRD) in Santiago, the Republic's second city, which makes or breaks political uprisings outside the capital. Most leaders of the region's democratic parties are in hiding. In the days before the strike there were mass arrests, and all motorcycles were confiscated by the police. Military bases were posted on alert, and five 50-caliber machine-gun posts were established on the hills overlooking the city.

A half hour before the strike was to begin, police began to mass in the streets. In any general strike you need money to sustain workers with large families, all the more so when revolution has brought economic depression. Anyway the word was not spread, and the strike never really got under way.

The rebels have been jockeyed (and have jockeyed themselves) into negotiating from a position of much greater weakness than they sustained during talks with McGeorge Bundy, President Johnson's previous representative. The tentative agreement reached in the Bundy talks, reportedly vetoed in Washington, called for a PRD-dominated provisional government under the 1963 Bosch constitution. It guaranteed that leftist youth would not be deported; for young believers in the "armed struggle" to spend an exile in Prague or Havana seemed a greater danger than to keep them at home. But now the rebels, led by the "constitutional president" Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deno are being asked to sign an agreement with Brigadier General Antonio Imbert Barreras, head of a right-wing junta which would crumble without United States support. Moreover, the United States, with 7,000 troops in Santo Domingo, is negotiating behind the OAS fig leaf and presumably would not be part of any formal agreement. All indications from the State Department and the US Embassy are that under the new proposals put forward by President Johnson's current emissary, Ellsworth Bunker, the 30,000-man Dominican armed forces would remain essentially intact. The army, which consumes half the national budget and whose generals and colonels made themselves millionaires in the wild corruption of the 18 months following Bosch's overthrow, is reportedly regarded by the State Department as the sole guarantor of political stability.

In their counterproposals to the OAS, the "constitutionalist" high command on June 23 indicated it would accept the idea put forward by Ambassador Bunker of a temporary constitution and the holding of elections within nine months. But it was holding out, initially at least, for incorporation, in the legislation of the provisional regime, of the social and economic gains written into the outlawed 1963 Bosch constitution. It also wanted its civilian militia to surrender its arms to a newly formed government, rather than to the OAS. As of this writing, Imbert's *junta* government has made no positive response to the OAS. Imbert may still think that if he sits tight he will ultimately be accepted by the Americans as the man in charge.

Before any fair elections can be held, a decision will have to be reached on who will run the national police. Imbert has controlled them for most of the past three years. From its armories he used to leak weapons to the extreme left which shared his aversion to the Bosch government. Such unresolved issues may mean protracted negotiations, with the prospect of an American military mop-up of the rebel zone if negotiations fail.

For all but seven months of the four years since the May, 1961, Trujillo assassination, the Dominican Republic has been run by a conservative oligarchy which kept the lid on social change. With the State Department now doggedly looking for moderate, "nonpolitical" businessmen to head a provisional government until elections are held, the pressing social questions posed by a four-percent annual population rise and a migratory flood from the countryside to the cities would seem to be tabled again. It was Bosch's 61-percent majority in the 1962 elections, the first elections in four decades, that brought the Dominican peasant and slum dweller into politics. It is the bloody struggle of the past two months that has brought them back again. Unless a political solution, imposed or otherwise, closes the door to the corruption and brutality of the past, any temporizing formula will inexorably push this rudimentary colonial society into more class warfare and irreconcilable hate.

NORMAN GALL

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A Fresh Look at the University of California

For decades the Board of Regents of the University of California was much like the Pacific Union Club that sits in drab majesty atop Nob Hill in San Francisco. Its members represented wealth and power – oil, railroads, newspapers. Their politics were conservative. Their monthly, two-day meetings were pleasant, quiet affairs. It was prestigious fun to be a regent. Gov. Goodwin Knight once said he had many more requests for that position than for any other. (16 of the 24 members are appointed by the governor, for 16-year terms.)

This cozy atmosphere even survived the bitter loyalty-oath fight in 1948 and 1950, but it began to change when "Pat" Brown became governor in 1959. His appointees, including industrialist Norton Simon, attorneys William Coblentz and Frederick Dutton and shipping executive William Roth, were less tolerant of the club's traditions and taboos. Meetings were made more open to reporters; the committee structure was reformed; the personal power of several conservative, long-time regents was somewhat curbed.

At the same time the University was growing from one major campus in Berkeley, with a poor cousin in Los Angeles, to a statewide behemoth, with 100,000 students, professors and staff on nine campuses.

When the Free Speech Movement exploded at Berkeley last fall the tottering walls of the club collapsed, and with them the illusion that the University could be run by a highly centralized government, headed by one man, President Clark Kerr, who did the work of 10.

When the Regents appointed a special committee in December to look into "basic causes of unrest" no one was surprised. There had been many such committees; they usually produced innocuous recommendations which were promptly forgotten. But this one, headed by William E. Forbes, a Los Angeles music company executive, took the unusual step of hiring an outside investigator. "There wasn't much point in researching ourselves," one committee member said. The assignment finally went to Jerome C. Byrne, 39-year-old partner in the fancy Los Angeles law firm of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher. Byrne, a gradute of Aquinas College and the Harvard Law School, had been mildly active in Democratic politics but was largely unknown and had no ties to the University.

Financed by a $75,000 Regents appropriation, Byrne put together an eight-man staff, including attorneys Stephen H. Powers, Jr. and John Mechem, management consultant Bryant Cushing, and education specialist and *New Republic* contributing editor Christopher Jencks. The staff pedaled up and down the state for three months, interviewing regents, administrators, professors and students. Byrne also made a swing east, to talk to prominent educators. By early May, he was ready with a report. One part discussed the Free Speech Movement and made this finding:

"We conclude that the basic cause of unrest on the Berkeley campus was the dissatisfaction of a large number of students with many features of the society they were about to enter. This dissatisfaction led them to political action, particularly civil rights action. The students involved in the Free Speech Movement were genuinely and deeply concerned about off-campus political and social action and their 'freedom' to use the University property as a base for the organization of their efforts in this direction. They resented deeply any action of the Administration which, in any way, hindered or interfered with their view of their constitutional right to engage in what they considered to be fundamental and morally required social action."

The report dismissed charges that the FSM had been Communist-led or manipulated: "We found no evidence that the Free Speech Movement was organized by the Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Movement, or any other outside group."

In its discussion of the breakdown of relationships within the University community the report occasionally achieved eloquence:

"Perhaps the elemental tragedy of the events of the fall was the clear revelation of the deep mistrust of the young for their elders and the implicit denial of hope in one for the other. In denying the possibility that students would behave responsibly and impose their own sanctions on each other, the University helped maintain a system held together by mistrust."

Beyond the events of the fall the report found a more serious problem: " . . . more fundamentally it was a crisis in government, caused by the failure of the President and the Regents to develop a governmental structure at once acceptable to the governed and suited to the vastly increased complexity of the University." Greatly increased autonomy was suggested for each campus, within a "commonwealth" of universities.

Conservative regents treated the report like a loathsome disease. They tried to keep it secret. Following publication of the report on May 12, Edward W. Carter, conservative chairman of the Board, said he doubted that the Regents would treat Byrne's proposals "with great seriousness."

But Carter misread his board. Slowly an alliance had been forming between the Brown appointees and other regents who were persuaded that the University needs drastic change. And when the Regents gathered at the UC Medical Center in San Francisco for their June meeting, it was apparent that the new coalition was in control. At a private dinner meeting, conservative regents tried to oust President Kerr but were blocked by the new majority, who argued that the system, not the

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man, needed to be changed.

This argument was carried by Simon, Roth, Gov. Brown (who broke away from the hectic last two days of the legislative session to attend the meeting) and Mrs. Dorothy B. Chandler.

At the board meeting next day, President Kerr presented several proposals for major reorganization. They followed the lines of the Byrne recommendations and had been worked out in consultation with reform-minded regents and some of the stronger chancellors in the system. For example, chancellors on the various campuses would be permitted to approve appointment and promotions to the ranks of associate professor and full professor. At present, all such appointments and promotions are supposed to be reviewed by President Kerr, a cumbersome process which hampers recruiting. "Some good ones get away," one local campus administrator said, "because we take too damn long to say yes or no." Authority to transfer funds within a campus budget, without approval by the statewide administration would be increased. Much of the Regents' authority over the design and construction of buildings will be handed over to the chancellors. The proposals whistled through.

Kerr then said he would present further decentralization ideas at the July meeting. By fall, if this pace continues, the University of California might have a government suited to its needs, in which day-to-day decisions will be made at the local campus level, broad policy will be set by the President and his staff and overall performance will be reviewed by the Regents.

The stuffy atmosphere of the Board of Regents has been freshened by the wind of reform. This may not be precisely what the free speech demonstrators had in mind when they occupied Sproul Hall last December 2, but it is a fundamental change in the largest university in the world, one that may have effects on higher education everywhere.

WILLIAM TROMBLEY

MR. TROMBLEY *covers higher education for the Los Angeles* Times.

Chicago—the Low Rent District

The Chicago Sanitary District serves more than 100 cities and villages in the 860-square-mile metropolitan area and is regarded as one of the "Seven Wonders of the Engineering World." It is also something of a wonder as a dispenser of real estate bargains, as a suit pending in the Illinois Court of Appeals shows.

To carry off the wastes of five million people and a vast industrial complex, Sanitary District engineers reversed the flow of the Chicago River, which had drained into Lake Michigan, and connected it by navigable channels with the Illinois River and, ultimately, the Mississippi. The navigable channels are knit into the growing Port of Chicago and link the Great Lakes Seaway with the Mississippi and the Gulf ports. Almost by accident, a great deal of valuable real estate has been created along the channels, which is ideally suited to a variety of industries and is occupied by major oil, steel, chemical, manufacturing, and building materials companies. What is surprising is that this public land rents for less than rooms in cheap hotels.

The Sanitary District holds title to about 5,700 acres. Almost half of it is under 50-99-year lease to private citizens or corporations. Uncontested documents in the pending suit reveal such bargains as these: Union Tank Car Company has a 99-year lease on 38 acres and pays the District less than $40 a month rent. Publicker Chemical Corporation pays $90 a month for a 45-acre site on the main channel. A Cory Corporation office building was recently erected on land leased from the District for 99 years on a sliding scale ranging between $65 and $100 a month. Corn Products Company leases 14 acres for manufacturing purposes at $175 a month. What is the land really worth? Well, a sublease on part of a 100-acre tract yields approximately 17 times the rent that the original lessee pays the Sanitary District for the whole 100 acres. Material Service Corporation, a division of General Dynamics and a firm whose guiding light, Henry Crown, has long commanded a seat in the high councils of Cook County politics, occupies more than 400 acres of District land, including five miles of channel frontage along which its barge fleet is based. Total rental is just over $18,500 a year, or less than $45 an acre.

Most of the leases were negotiated between 1918 and 1961. The terms were matters of public record, though apparently not of public interest. But two years ago Chicago attorney Harry R. Booth filed a taxpayer's suit charging District officials and a dozen lessees with conspiracy to defraud the public. Booth alleges that all the leases were negotiated without competitive bidding and should yield several million dollars a year instead of less than one-quarter million, as they do now. The suit

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requests an accounting of all leases and a judgment of losses suffered by taxpayers as a result of inadequate rental fees. Booth's suit rests upon the theory that "the impact upon the taxpayers arising from the waste, fraudulent use and misapplication of valuable real estate is identical with the illegal expenditure of public funds." The suit is a staggering undertaking.

Booth's experience fighting public utilities and large corporations goes back to the 1930's and Governor Henry Horner. As an attorney for the Illinois Commerce Commission, Booth forced Commonwealth Edison to cut its rates by $3 million. After a three-year court struggle with Peoples Gas he won a $6 million refund for customers and a $3 million rate reduction. Moving to the Federal Communications Commission, Booth prepared a program designed to cut AT&T's long-distance rates and resigned when the Commission decided to accept a compromise reduction of $14 million which Booth felt should have been $50 million. Not long after he left, the FCC reconsidered and ordered the $50 million slash.

At 60, Booth is a slight, bespectacled man, still capable of burning indignation at "the interests." In private practice in Chicago he has carried on his war with an array of suits against utilities, corporations and public agencies, but he regards the Sanitary District suit as the climax of his career. With some financial and legal assistance from two friends, he has poured substantial time and cash into preparing the suit and the appeal.

Corruption is traditional in the Sanitary District. Its chief counsel and 33 other lawyers were punished by the courts in 1933 for accepting fees without performing commensurate services. In 1937 trustees were convicted of diverting $8 million in District funds. Recently, independent investigators charged that suppliers on a million-dollar contract for electrical equipment had made almost 100 percent profit. Certain Republican legislators have been given Sanitary District jobs and by chance have sometimes cooperated with the Democrats on close decisions. Democrats, too, like to make large corporations happy, and how better than by supplying industrial sites at bargain prices? The list of defendants in Harry Booth's suit reads like a "Who's Who" of midwestern industry. The moral imperative of the marketplace impels the businessman to buy as cheaply and sell as dearly as he can, whether dealing with another businessman or a public agency. But what imperative – moral or otherwise – compelled the Sanitary District trustees to sign away the people's land so cheaply is another question.

RICHARD COOPER

Liberals and John Lindsay

by Alexander M. Bickel

I don't live in New York (although I used to), and *The New Republic* is a national journal, edited in Washington. Who is to be mayor of New York is a question finally to be answered by New Yorkers alone, but in 1965 the answer is a matter of national concern. Therefore, the people of New York – that most cosmopolitan and, at any rate in its aspirations, least parochial of cities – will have to suffer a quantity of advice this year.

One reason the New York election is of national concern is its importance to the Republican Party. Representative John V. Lindsay of Manhattan, the Republican and hopefully fusion candidate for mayor, can, if he wins, play a role, and possibly a very large one, in the reconstruction and leadership of that party. Judging by his 7-year record in the House and his outstanding anti-Goldwater performance in 1964, there can be no question that John Lindsay would lead his party in a progressive and constructive direction. That the Republican Party, while opposing, should oppose on grounds which Democrats and others can think tenable even when they think them wrong; that it should be capable of opposing also from the Left on some issues (it *was* the party of T.R. and of La Follette) and not only from the Right; that it should, in sum, always present itself to Democrats (who have their own Eastlands and Byrds) and to Independents as a conceivable alternate government – all this is essential in the long run for the health of our political system.

It is all very well for confirmed liberals and instinctive Democrats (like myself) lightly to consign the GOP to the fate of the Federalists and the Whigs, and it may be only natural for Lyndon Johnson to want not just a 60, but a 70 and 80 percent majority. But if there were no Republican Party, we should have to invent

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one. Riding the crest in 1933, after his Hundred Days, President Roosevelt asked his friend Felix Frankfurter, then about to go abroad, what his parting advice was: "Get yourself an opposition." An opposition during the Johnson era in which a John Lindsay is a major influence would be a great national asset. Whether Lindsay will be enabled to exert any influence in the national Republican Party is inescapably one of the issues in this fall's mayoralty election in New York. It is not the only issue, and New York voters are entitled not to regard it as the preponderant one; they have their city to worry about also. But it is one of the issues.

The Urban Crisis

There is another national aspect of the New York election which is of more immediate relevance to voters in the city. The year 1965 is a watershed in the government not only of New York, but of all our cities, and in our approach throughout the country to what must be recognized as the urban crisis. This is the year of the Anti-Poverty Act, of the Primary and Secondary Education Act, of a probable revision of the federal narcotics statutes, with more emphasis on treatment and prevention and less on punishment, of the President's fine message to Congress on crime, again emphasizing roots and causes, and of his great speech at Howard University, looking beyond legal segregation to the other difficulties that stand in the way of the social and economic integration of 20 million Negroes in American life. At the same time, a Department of Housing and Urban Development is being established under a Secretary who will sit in the President's Cabinet; indeed, by a coincidence that has symbolic significance, Congressional consideration of the Urban Department, and the process of sorting out candidates for mayor of New York are going along simultaneously.

The activity in Washington, which Lindsay has strongly supported, is all to the good, and long overdue. It will bring indispensable resources to the aid of the cities. But if Washington finds in the cities a vacuum of initiative, of energy and of political power, then Washington will fill it, and will not merely support and help, but necessarily supplant. We would then end by having created problems as grave as those we might have solved. Energy and imagination, enthusiasm and a sanguine temperament, but also a capacity for indignation and even some anger, the ability to quicken people's interest and thus gain access to a fresh and vital base of political support – these are Lindsay's attributes. In New York they can ensure that urban home rule will survive the solution of urban problems.

New York is the premier city, and it can have an impact throughout the country comparable to that of La Follette's Wisconsin and Tom Johnson's Cleveland at the turn of the century. The central cities rot even as they spin off ever more satellite cities and draw an ever-increasing percentage of the total population into the urban complex, which in turn exists for and cannot survive without the central city. The magnet of the central city draws toward itself all the problems of American life. That is where they must be attacked – race relations, education, automation, transportation, pollution, everything; the Great Society is going to be the Great City, or it will be nothing. The question is not whether we are going to do something about all this. We must, and have begun to. The question is whether we are going to surrender all initiative to the federal government and take all our answers and solutions from it, with consequences in a country of this size and diversity of which one can predict only that they will be disagreeable, or whether we will be able to harness local government to the task. The federal programs of which we are now seeing the first phase invite and rely on local energies and initiative. The Anti-Poverty and Education Acts do so signally. If they fail, their successors will be drafted on different principles. This is a last clear chance. Vast responsibilities thus await city governments, and they cannot be discharged by civil servants and other professionals, no matter how able, and by cops, no matter how honest, for the tasks may be ultimately professional, but they are first and crucially political. We do not achieve large purposes in this country without conflict, without drama, without engaging the attention and the passion of millions. City government needs a high spirit, fervor and excitement, or the cities will cease to be governed; they will be administered, and largely from afar, at that.

Lindsay is not La Guardia – the physical contrast could not be more striking – and he is unlikely to be a fire buff, to take a sledgehammer to gambling machines, or to read the funnies on TV. Nor is Lindsay of the genus reformer (not that La Guardia was either), all rectitude, good intentions and remoteness. He seems very much the political animal, aware, worldly, not surprised that the machine works in long-established ways, more interested in making it produce what he wants than in making it perfect for its own sake. If he were a Democrat, he would be a shoo-in. Without indulging an inapposite general comparison with John F. Kennedy, one can say that Lindsay is of the hard-headed generation. He does not at this stage have, and one hopes he will not feel compelled to produce immediately, a fully articulated program prescribing a solution for each of the city's problems. He has put forward an admirable proposal for a Civilian Complaint Review Board in the Police Department, and he is clear that a first step toward the amelioration of racial imbalance in the schools must be the quick creation of at least one model school park of the sort recom-

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mended in the Allen Report. But the thing that makes Lindsay the important and hopeful candidate he is is not that he has all the right answers, but that he knows the right questions, and that he does not simply repeat them, but asks them afresh, for himself, with that rarest of qualities in a New Yorker – curiosity. One has the feeling that this will be a mayor who will poke around the city's departments and its streets, who will hear its sounds and see its sights rather than being deafened and blinded by them. He will face what he hears and sees without illusions of instant perfectability, but without resignation.

In his Washington office recently – being in town for the day to urge passage on the House floor of the Urban Department bill – he spoke of the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto, and not merely of the ghastly physical conditions, but of the people's sense of abandonment. The police do not venture in except in twos, and then slowly and carefully, so that their response to any call for help seems to the people always excruciatingly slow. Cabdrivers will not enter at all, and gypsy cabs sometimes travel the streets. They are wholly illegal, but are winked at, for they make at least for something of a breech in the wall of isolation. Even so, anyone who has an accident or for some other reason needs a quick trip to a hospital has a hard time breaking out of this fortress of misery. And it isn't that Bedford-Stuyvesant breeds criminals who go out and prey on the city. Bedford-Stuyvesant suffers first and foremost from the criminals it breeds; it gets tardy help, if any, from the outer world's police. Better and more police are no solution, Lindsay knows. He means to try to reestablish confidence between the police and the people, but you don't deal with a social upheaval, he says, by dumping it in the lap of a cop.

"A Bully Pulpit"

Well, what then? A capacity to perceive the problem anew, as it is, in its final human terms, and to convey, in describing it, the emotion that it must rouse in a sensitive observer, and that it must be made to rouse in the city and in the whole country if it is ever to be effectively attacked – this is what Lindsay will bring to New York; this and a conception of the mayor's office as a bully pulpit, such as Theodore Roosevelt first made of the Presidency. The President does not lead in domestic affairs because he possesses the power to dispose, but because he has the self-assumed responsibility to propose, because he wields the grandest searchlight in the land, because he can provoke, cajole and scold, because he has the power not to let people and things rest. Quite aside from the limits of his statutory functions, this is what a mayor can also do for New York City. As an illustration of what I mean, take the problem of the racial imbalance in the schools. The problem belongs to the Board of Education, and Mayor Wagner has so treated it, remaining aloof. This is in part because the traditional posture of good government in New York has been to insulate the professionals from the politicians, in order to ward off corruption, favoritism, incompetence. That may be good enough when it comes to laying down sewers, or handing out cab licenses, or inspecting fire hazards; and it may be desirable at some stages of city planning, but the ways and means of racial integration, of slum clearance, of slum policing and even of road building in lower Manhattan require political direction.

The American notion of federalism calls for political initiative and direction to be exercised locally as well as nationally, so that we may have democratic self-rule – political rule in the best sense – rather than central administration. For the latter may be benevolent and sometimes even effective, but it is not self-government and not democratic. The federal notion has application for Lindsay within the city also. New York is too big to be a community, but it used to be a collection of neighborhood communities, and its current malaise, as Lindsay sees it, is owing in substantial part to the fact that it no longer is such a collection. Lindsay is intent on maintaining the cohesiveness of the few communities that persist – Greenwich Village is one – and on fostering the community spirit elsewhere. He would anchor the poverty program in neighborhood participation and leadership. The community feeling may be furthered by a degree of homogeneity in the population, but racial and economic homogeneity also leads to stagnation. Communities must be integrated economically as well as racially, and Lindsay would build attractive housing to draw the middle class into ghettos (as has been done in some measure), and low-income housing outside the ghetto.

One of the functions of a political party is to preserve itself, to retain an identity and to oppose the other party. This is a socially useful function if we admit that more than one party is a good thing. And so one cannot expect the Democrats to roll over and play dead. But the Liberal Party in New York, which could provide Lindsay with the margin of victory, purports to be something else – not a party aiming to govern on its own account, but a balance wheel, and the liberal spur to the other two parties. There is no Democrat of Lindsay's quality who has a realistic chance of being nominated by the stale and over-professionalized New York party, and trial ballons sent up from Washington are unlikely to change the situation. The Liberal Party will best serve its own professed function and the interests of the city by endorsing Lindsay on a fusion ticket, rather than waiting for the Democrats to pull a rabbit out of the hat.

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Globalism

Johnson's Moral Crusade

by Hans J. Morgenthau

American foreign policy has tended in this century to move back and forth between the extremes of an indiscriminate isolationism and an equally indiscriminate internationalism or globalism. While these two positions are obviously identified with utterly different foreign policies – indiscriminate involvement here, indiscriminate abstention there – it is important to note that they share the same assumptions about the nature of the political world and the same negative attitudes toward foreign policy correctly understood. They are equally hostile to that middle ground of subtle distinctions, complex choices, and precarious manipulations, which is the proper sphere of foreign policy.

Both deny the existence of priorities in foreign policy which are derived from a hierarchy of interests and the availability of power to support them. For both extremes, it is either all or nothing, either total involvement or total abstention. Both refuse to concern themselves with the concrete issues of foreign policy on their own merits, that is, in terms of the interests involved and the power available. While isolationism stops short of these concrete issues, globalism soars beyond them. Both assume the self-sufficiency of American power to protect and promote the American national interest either in indiscriminate abstention or indiscriminate globalism. While the isolationist used to say, "We don't need to have anything to do with the world; for we can take care of our interests on our own terms," the globalist says, "We shall take on the whole world, but only on our own terms." Thus isolationism is a kind of introverted globalism, and globalism is a kind of isolationism turned inside out. To stigmatize a position that falls short of such indiscriminate globalism as "neo-isolationism" is a polemic misuse of terms; it derives from the globalist assumption that indiscriminate involvement is, as it were, the natural stance of American foreign policy.

Both attitudes, in different ways oblivious of political reality, substitute for the complex and discriminating mode of political thought a simple approach, which in its simplicity is commensurate with the simplicity of their picture of the political world: the moral crusade. The isolationist's moralism is naturally negative, abstentionist, and domestically oriented; it seeks to protect the virtue of the United States from contamination by the power politics of evil nations. Wilsonian globalism endeavored to bring the virtue of American democracy to the rest of the world. Contemporary globalism tries to protect the virtue of the "free world" from contamination by Communism and to create a world order in which that virtue has a chance to flourish. The anti-Communist crusade has become both the moral principle of contemporary globalism and the rationale of our global foreign policy.

The anti-Communist crusade has its origins in the Truman Doctrine formulated in President Truman's message to Congress of March 12, 1947. That message assumed that the issue between the United States and the Soviet Union, from which arose the need for aid to Greece and Turkey, must be understood not as the rivalry between two great powers but as a struggle between good and evil, democracy and totalitarianism. In its positive application this principle proclaimed the defense of free, democratic nations everywhere in the world against "direct or indirect aggression," against "subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." In its negative application it postulated the containment of the Soviet Union everywhere in the world. Thus the Truman Doctrine transformed a concrete interest of the United States in a geographically defined part of the world into a moral principle of worldwide validity, to be applied regardless of the limits of American interests and of American power.

The globalism of the Truman Doctrine was not put to the test of actual performance. Dean Acheson, President Truman's Secretary of State, in his speech before the National Press Club of January 12, 1950, cut the doctrine down to the size of American national interest and to the power available to support it. "I hear almost

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every day someone say," remarked Mr. Acheson, "that the real interest of the United States is to stop the threat of Communism. Nothing seems to me to put the cart before the horse more completely than that. . . . Communism is the most subtle instrument of Soviet foreign policy that has ever been devised, and it is really the spearhead of Russian imperialism. . . . It is an important point because people will do more damage and create more misrepresentation in the Far East by saying our interest is merely to stop the spread of Communism than any other way. Our real interest is in those people as people. It is because Communism is hostile to that interest that we want to stop it." It was the contrast between the sweeping generalities of the Truman Doctrine and the discriminating policies actually pursued by the Truman Administration which was to haunt Messrs. Truman and Acheson in the years to come. Their foreign policies, especially in Asia, were judged by the standards of the Truman Doctrine and were found wanting.

The contrast between crusading pronouncements and the actual policies pursued continued, and was even accentuated, under the stewardship of John Foster Dulles, owing, on the one hand, to Mr. Dulles' propensity for grandiose announcements and, on the other, to his innate caution and President Eisenhower's common sense. The only major practical tribute which the Eisenhower Administration paid to the anti-Communist crusade was alliances, such as the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, which were supposed to contain Communism in the Middle East and Asia, respectively.

Putting Theory into Practice

Under President Kennedy, the gap between crusading pronouncements and actual policies started to narrow, due to the intellectual recognition on the part of the Kennedy Administration that Communism could no longer be defined simply, as it could in 1950, as "the spearhead of Russian imperialism." Thus the crusading spirit gave way to a sober differentiating assessment of the bearing the newly emerged, different types of Communism save upon the US national interest.

Under President Johnson pronouncements and policies are now, for the first time since the great transformation of American policy in 1947, very nearly in harmony. What the President has only implied, the Secretaries of State and Defense have clearly stated: We are fighting in Vietnam in order to stop Communism throughout the world. And the President has stated with similar clarity that, "we do not propose to sit here in our rocking chair with our hands folded and let the Communists set up any government in the Western Hemisphere." What in the past we said we were doing or would do but never did, we are now in the process of putting into practice: to stop the expansion of Communism on a global scale by force of arms.

This is a momentous change. It raises three fundamental issues of intellectual and practical importance: First, what is the purpose of foreign policy when it must deal not, or not only, with a hostile power, but with a hostile political movement transcending national boundaries? Second, what is the bearing of the World-Communist movement upon the national interests of the United States? Third, how can the United States deal with the revolutions which might be taken over by Communism?

These questions, more vexing than those with which foreign policy must ordinarily come to terms, are typical for a revolutionary age. Twice before in modern history, these questions had to be answered. They first arose during the last decade of the eighteenth century in England on the occasion of the expansionist policies of revolutionary France. Three great political minds – Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, and William Pitt – debated how to deal with the expansionism of a great power which was also the fountainhead of a universal political religion. Fox held that England was not at all threatened by France or, for that matter, by the principles of the French Revolution, which were a mere domestic concern of France, and that therefore England had no reason to be at war with France. Burke, on the other hand, looked at the issue as "the cause of humanity itself. . . . It is not the cause of nation against nation; but as you will observe, the cause of mankind against those who have projected the subversion of the order of things, under which our part of the world has so long flourished. . . . If I conceive rightly of the spirit of the present combination, it is not at war with France, but with Jacobinism. . . . We are at war with a *principle*, and with an example, of which there is no shutting out by fortresses or excluding by territorial limits. No lines of demarcation can bound the Jacobin empire. It must be extirpated in the place of its origin, or it will not be confined to that place." It was for Pitt, the Prime Minister, to apply the standard of the national interest: "The honorable gentleman defies me to state, in one sentence, what is the object of the war. In one word, I tell him that it is security – security against a danger, the greatest that ever threatened the world – security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society. . . . We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad, than by precaution at home; that we were to look for protection no less to the courage of our forces than to the wisdom of our councils; no less to military effort than to legislative enactment."

The other issue arose after the Napoleonic Wars when the absolute monarchies of Europe were threatened on the one hand by liberal revolutions and, on the other, by the imperial ambitions of Russia claiming

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to fight liberalism anywhere in the name of the Christian principles of government. Faced with this dual danger, Lord Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, opposed the expansion of Russia and refused to oppose or support liberal revolutions *per se*. "It is proposed now," he said to the Russian ambassador in 1820, "to overcome the *revolution;* but so long as this revolution does not appear in more distinct shape, so long as this general principle is only translated into events like those of Spain, Naples and Portugal – which, strictly speaking, are only reforms, or at the most domestic upsets, and do not attack materially any other State – England is not ready to combat it." At the same time he wrote to his brother: "It is not possible for the British Government to take the field in fruitlessly denouncing by a sweeping joint declaration the revolutionary dangers of the present day, to the existence of which they are, nevertheless, sufficiently alive. Nor can they venture to embody themselves *en corps* with the nonrepresentative Governments in what would seem to constitute a scheme of systematic interference in the internal affairs of other States; besides, they do not regard mere declarations as of any real or solid value independent of some practical measure actually resolved upon; and what that measure is which can be generally and universally adopted against bad principles overturning feeble and ill-administered governments, they have never yet been able to divine. . . ."

Castlereagh's foreign policy was so unpopular that he was driven to suicide; the people celebrated in the streets of London the news of his death. While Castlereagh did not enjoy what we now call "consensus," he enjoys the historic reputation of a very great and successful statesman. The Austrian chancellor Metternich, on the other hand, a champion of the *status quo* against liberalism, saw his political world disappear in the revolutions of 1848.

A foreign policy which takes for its standard the active hostility to a world-wide political movement, such as Jacobinism, liberalism, or Communism, confuses the sphere of philosophic or moral judgment with the realm of political action and for this reason it is bound to fail. For there are narrow limits, defined by the interest at stake and the power available, within which a foreign policy has a chance to be successful, and a foreign policy which would oppose Communist revolution and subversion throughout the world oversteps those limits. It does so in three different respects.

First, the resources of even the most powerful nation are limited. They may suffice for intervening in two or three small countries simultaneously. But if one considers Hanson Baldwin's suggestion that the United States might have to send a million men to Vietnam, one realizes the extent to which available resources fall short of the unlimited commitment.

Second, the task such a foreign policy sets itself is unending. You suppress Communism in South Vietnam and it raises it head, say, in Thailand; you suppress it in the Dominican Republic and it raises its head, say, in Colombia. The successful suppression of revolution in one spot does not discourage revolution elsewhere, provided the objective conditions are favorable. The conjunction between an objective revolutionary situation in large parts of the world with a worldwide political ideology and organization committed to exploit it, makes piecemeal attacks upon individual, acute trouble spots a hopeless undertaking.

Third, the attack upon a particular revolution as part of a world-wide, anti-revolutionary campaign is bound to have world-wide repercussions. Local successes against a particular revolution may have to be paid for by loss of support elsewhere and even by the strengthening of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

The only standard by which a sound foreign policy must be informed is not moral and philosophic opposition to Communism as such, but the bearing which a particular Communism in a particular country has upon the interests of the United States. That standard was easily applied in 1950 when Communism anywhere in the world could be considered a mere extension of Soviet power and be opposed as such. The task is infinitely more difficult today when Soviet control of the

"From the Shores of Hispaniola, to the Hills of Viet Nam . . ."

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World-Communist movement has been successfully challenged by the competition of China and the reassertion of their particular national interests by Communist governments and parties throughout the world. Yet while the task is very complex, it can be left undone only at the risk of an exhausting and ultimately fruitless indiscriminate crusade which, by dint of its lack of discrimination, is likely to be counterproductive as well; for it tends to restore the very unity of the Communist camp which it is in our interest to prevent.

A sound anti-Communist policy would ask itself at every turn what the relations of this particular Communist government or movement are likely to be with the Soviet Union and China, and how those relations are likely to be influenced by our choice of policy. It would choose a different approach to Cuba, which is a military and political outpost of the Soviet Union in the Western Hemisphere, from that to North Vietnam, which maintains an uneasy balance in its dependence upon the Soviet Union and China, and would prefer not to be subservient to either. Such a policy no doubt entails considerable risks; for the analysis may be mistaken or the policy may fail through miscalculation. Furthermore and most importantly, such a policy is faced with a real dilemma. That dilemma is presented by the prospect of the rise of revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, most, if not all, of which are likely to have a Communist component. In other words, any of these revolutionary movements risks being taken over by Communism.

An Alternative to Crusades

In the face of this risk, we think we can choose between two different courses of action. On the one hand, we can oppose all revolutionary movements around the world. But in consequence of such opposition and in spite of our reformist intentions, we shall then transform ourselves into the anti-revolutionary power *per se* after the model of Metternich's Austria of 150 years ago, and we will find ourselves defending a *status quo* which we know to be unjust and in the long run indefensible. For we know of course that the rational choice open to us is not between the *status quo* and revolution, but between non-Communist and different types of Communist revolutions. But it is our fear of Communism that forces us into an anti-revolutionary stance *per se*.

On the other hand, if we refrain from intervening against those revolutionary movements, we risk their being taken over by their Communist component. It would then be left to our skill in political manipulation to prevent this Communist take-over from coming about, or if it should come about, to prevent such a Communist revolution from becoming subservient to the Soviet Union or China. The United States would then have to compete with the Soviet Union and China in the sponsorship of revolutions, taking the risk that not all those revolutions would remain under American sponsorship.

Such a policy would make the highest demands on the technical skill, the moral stamina, and the political wisdom of our government, but it is the only one that promises at least a measure of success. The alternative, the anti-Communist crusade, is in comparison simplicity itself. The domestic "consensus" supports it, and it makes but minimum demands on moral discrimination, intellectual subtlety, and political skill. Its implementation is in essence a problem of military logistics: how to get the requisite number of armed men quickly to the theater of revolution. That task is easy, and we have shown ourselves adept at it. Yet the achievement of that task does not solve the problem of revolution. It smothers, as it were, the fire of revolution under a military blanket, but it does not extinguish it. And when that fire breaks out again with increased fury, the assumptions of our policy have left us with no remedy but the commitment of more armed men trying to smother it again.

This policy is bound to be ineffective in the long run against the local revolution to which it is applied. It is also ineffective in its own terms of the anti-Communist crusade. For the very logic which makes us appear as the anti-revolutionary power *per se* surrenders to Communism the sponsorship of revolution everywhere. Thus the anti-Communist crusade achieves what it aims to prevent: the exploitation of the revolutions of the age by the Soviet Union and China.

Finally, our reliance upon a simple anti-Communist stance and its corollary, military intervention, is bound to corrupt our judgment about the nature and the limits of our power. We flatter ourselves to defend right against wrong, to discharge the self-imposed duty to establish a new order throughout the world, and to do so effectively within the limits of military logistics. Thus we may well come to think that all the problems of the political world will yield to moral conviction and military efficiency, and that whatever we want to do we shall be able to do so because we possess those two assets in abundance. "Among precautions against ambition," Edmund Burke warned his countrymen in 1793 under similar conditions, "it may not be amiss to take one precaution against our *own*. I must fairly say, I dread our *own* power and our *own* ambition; I dread our being too much dreaded. . . . We may say that we shall not abuse this astonishing and hitherto unheard-of power. But every other nation will think we shall abuse it. It is impossible but that, sooner or later, this state of things must produce a combination against us which may end in our ruin." Pitt and Castlereagh heeded that warning. Our future and the future of the world will depend on our heeding it as well.

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The Pearl of the Antilles

by Harrison E. Salisbury

The problem of Castro and the Cuban Revolution is the obstinacy with which it refuses to fit into any neat ideological or philosophical category.

This, essentially, is what makes it such a headache for policy-makers and analysts. And it is a problem which is not confined simply to Washington and the West. The dialectical task forces in Moscow and Peking have just as much difficulty in their efforts to provide a logical Marxian underpinning for the events in the island once known as the Pearl of the Antilles.

It is precisely this contrariety of Cuba which shines through almost every page of Mr. Draper's latest effort to find some kind of generalization underlying the surface disorder, the gap between expressed intentions and realized deeds, the zigzagging, the hypocrisy, the cant and the confusion which have marked Cuba's political course since New Year's Day, 1959.

Castroism: Theory and Practice
by Theodore Draper
(Praeger; $5.45)

In a sense it is regrettable that despite intense scholarship, close personal inquiry and an unusually rich background of experience in Marxian dialetic, Theodore Draper is unable to find a coherent key to Castroism. The need for a simple and reliable cipher by which to decode the turbulent events not only of the Caribbean but of other politically immature areas of the world, such as Asia, Africa and the Middle East, becomes more and more pressing. The angry turmoil which swirls around America's actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic is only the latest evidence of the difficulty which we confront in attempting to cope, in a more or less principled way, with situations which, if we may rely on Mr. Draper's inquiry into Cuba as a guide, defy reason, rationality and principle.

The principle upon which we have relied in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic (and earlier in Cuba) is a simple one: to "resist Communism." Nothing seems more simple than that. Unfortunately, as Mr. Draper points out, nothing could be more complex in actual practice.

Let us examine a few of the Cuban contradictions which Mr. Draper documents here:

According to Communist (Marxist) theory the leading force in Communist Revolution is the working class or proletariat. In fact, Cuba's highly unionized and relatively well-paid working class played almost no role in the Revolution.

According to Marxist theory revolution is set off by increasing conflict between the classes, intensified by more and more exploitation of labor and a decreasing living standard. In fact, Cuba in the 1950's experienced prosperity and a boom in which all classes in Cuban society shared.

Communists regard countries with low living standards and harsh repression as the best seedground for Revolution. In fact, Cuba ranked among the first four Latin American countries in per capita income.

Exploitation by "imperialist capitalist" forces is regarded by Marxists as a precondition for revolution. Cuba is cited as an example par excellence of American exploitation, especially in sugar. But, as Mr. Draper notes, it is easy to overestimate sugar and the American role in it. While sugar was Cuba's principal export it contributed only about 16 percent to the national income. The US investment in Cuban sugar resources was enormous – but it was rapidly declining (from 70 percent ownership in 1928 to about 35 percent in 1958 – about 5 percent of the Cuban industrial establishment). American companies employed only about 70,000 of the 2,000,000 Cuban labor force. Wages and working conditions in US establishments were the best in the country; unionization of these establishments was exceptionally high.

What about the role of the Cuban peasantry? While Marx expected the proletariat to make the Revolution was, perhaps, Cuba an example of the "new" Chinese-type Revolution in which the peasant, not the worker, carries the main burden? This has often been contended. Indeed, Castro and some of his ideologues have in recent years advanced the theory that Cuba was an example of a "peasant revolution". But, as Stalin used to say, facts are stubborn things. And Mr. Draper demonstrates conclusively that peasant participation in the Revolution was insignificant, regardless of how they may have expected to benefit once the Revolution got underway.

Of the 50,000 peasants in the Sierra Maestra, for example, probably not more than 500 joined in Castro's struggle (and this only as it approached success). Of the 500,000 agricultural workers in the country as a whole it appears that fewer than 1,000 had any hand in the revolutionary events.

Despite Castro's efforts (and those of his erstwhile colleague, Ernesto Che Guevara) to cloak the Cause with a mantle of "agrarian revolution" Mr. Draper makes it perfectly clear that there was, in fact, *no* national peasant uprising, no movement comparable to the Zapata peasant revolutionary outbreak in Mexico in 1910, nothing like the Pugachev rising in Czarist Russia, no deep peasant roots and peasant participation such as characterized Mao's success in China.

Where, then, did the Cuban Revolution get its strength?

Mr. Draper's answer is incontestable: "Outside the immediate vicinity of the

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guerrilla forces, revolutionary activity in the country as a whole was largely a middle-class phenomenon, with some working-class support but without working-class organization."

How does this fit in with theories of the Communist Revolution and take-over? Not at all. The only thing it remotely resembles is Marx's hypothetical description of a "bourgeois" revolution which, he thought, would precede the Communist or Proletarian Revolution.

Mr. Draper's analysis of the Castro propaganda and "program" prior to his take-over fits the definition of "bourgeois" far better than "communist." Its ideological content is light. Over the period 1953-1959 it displayed a steady drift toward the right. It was reformist, rather than radical. It stressed its intimacy with traditional Cuban political movements. Its guerrilla aspect was miniscule (and far from convinced). It depended enormously on The Leader and his charisma – and this was openly stressed by Castro.

It is hardly without significance that the Castro program and tactics were almost always in direct contrast to the program and tactics of the Cuban Communist Party and that this conflict by no means vanished with Castro's coming to power.

How then to explain Castro's success? Mr. Draper finds the answer more in Batista than in Castro; more in the national mood of Cuba than in the tactics of the revolutionaries; more in the tidal surge of events than in conspiracy. And here there may be one element of the key for which the statesmen search. It lies not on the revolutionary side of the equation but on the side of the status quo.

For example, as history has been idealized and falsified by the Communists (and their opponents), it would seem that the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia as a result of magnificent leadership, careful timing, remarkable insight, popular demand, courage, initiative and skill. To this picture the opponents of the Communists add: Secrecy, Conspiracy, Duplicity, Iron Discipline, etc.

The truth, however, is something rather different. Russia's February (non-Communist) Revolution occurred because the existing Czarist Government disintegrated. No revolutionary leader of consequence was even in the country (Lenin was in Switzerland, Trotsky in New York and Stalin in Siberia). None of them had the faintest notion that Russia was On the Brink. Lenin, indeed, was despondent.

But, under the impact of war, the Czarist system fell apart. It succeeded in alienating its strongest defenders – the nobility, the Army, the industrialists. Even the Imperial family had begun to line up against the Czar. Thus, the February Revolution occurred without plan, without conspiracy, without leaders.

But what of the Communist seizure of power following November 7? Surely, this was a skillful coup d'etat carried on by a secretive group of revolutionary plotters with Lenin at the head. Again, the reality bears little resemblance to the legend. Everyone in Petrograd knew the coup was to be attempted. The plans had been published in the Petrograd press (several leading Bolsheviks had quit the party in a public row over Lenin's proposal). The Bolsheviks won not because of their skill but because the feeble Kerensky regime was staggering toward collapse.

Nothing that happened in Russia fitted Marx's prescription for Revolution any more than did the events in Cuba. An analysis of Mao and the China Revolution would adduce much the same kind of evidence.

Regardless of how he happened to come to power is it not true that Castro is today and has been for some time a Communist?

This question, essential to an understanding of the evolution of the Cuban events, is analyzed with equal clarity by Mr. Draper. It is not necessary to follow the tortuous course by which Castro has attempted to give a false consistency to his policies and programs to see very quickly that beginning some time within his first year in power Castro adopted a more and more Communist course of action. To agrarian problems he applied collective and state solutions familiar to anyone in Eastern Europe. He imported Soviet techniques wholesale and attempted to adapt them to Cuban industry and the Cuban state. He himself and his theorists, Che Guevara in particular, busied themselves evolving an ideology which, Mr. Draper clearly establishes, suited various current political needs, but had little relationship to reality, and sometimes none at all.

Out of this maze of contrasts and contradictions a few important conclusions can be drawn.

The first and probably most vital is that revolutions are deep and powerful movements within a society which bear no necessary relationship to individual revolutionary movements or leaders. The guidelines of Marxian analysis are of no great help in studying these upsurges because they generate forces which take widely differing courses.

The success of the "revolution" depends much more on the disintegration of the existing regime or social system than it does upon a revolutionary clique or elite.

Once the process gets underway, however, it provides a setting in which a political figure of skill, daring and charisma, may take command. Lenin is one example, Tito another, Castro a third. Each of these diverse men have one trait in common: their brilliant sense of political expediency. While each called (or now calls) himself a Marxist each was quite willing to evoke non-Marxist policies for the sake of getting or keeping himself in power. Lenin calmly adopted the agrarian program of his hated enemies, the Socialist Revolutionaries. Later, he invited the capitalists back into Russia during the New Economic Policy. Tito went to the West for military and economic aid to hold his power against the challenge of another Communist (Stalin). Castro keeps his faltering economy going with increasingly intimate collaboration with fascist Franco.

The second lesson is that revolutions and revolutionary movements are as individual as the countries in which they occur. Each may draw on the common stock of so-called Marxist expedients just as the revolutions of the 19th Century drew so liberally on the common stock of expedients which

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were the heritage of revolutionary France and revolutionary England. But each gives to its revolution and its system (we are speaking here of revolu- flavor which stems from the charisma tem and not those pseudorevolutions such as were imposed by the Red Army on Eastern European countries) a particular national flavor and a personal flavor which stems from the charisma of the revolutionary figure who emerges at the helm of the state.

Unless we can, in some measure, rid ourselves of the futilitarian notion that all revolutions are "made in Moscow" and proceed according to some gigantic "Communist blueprint," there seems small hope that we will manage to evolve policies more effective than those which have proved so costly and so inept in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

As Mr. Draper rightly concludes:

> "In Cuban history, as it happens, the struggles for freedom have been long ones, with many ups and downs, repeated setbacks, and ultimate victories. . . . The Cuban people, not the exiles, not the United States, represent the principal factor in the present struggle.
>
> "It is not that the Cuban people can win by themselves; they need all the help they can get from the exiles, from the United States, and from everyone else. But the struggle cannot be won without them or against them. . . .
>
> "If we had done nothing more than avoid these gross miscalculations (the Bay of Pigs, etc.) we would be far better off today; if we do not repeat them, we will be far better off tomorrow.
>
> "A great deal can be gained simply by letting Castro make more mistakes and by making fewer ourselves."

To an activist Chief Executive or an eager-beaver Secretary of State or an ambitious military adviser this may sound too much like sitting back and "letting the dust settle." To which it may be suggested that there are worse things than patience and fortitude. A more activist policy may stir up a good deal more than dust. It may, in fact, bring tumbling down the whole delicate structure of balance and counterbalance on which the world now so precariously rests.

One thing Mr. Draper brilliantly documents: If we are to deal effectively with a rapidly changing world and with a whole series of states which are in transition from one socioeconomic status to another, we must rid our minds once and for all of the notion of simplistic solutions. The world is by no means the neat, tidy, professional place which Karl Marx or his successors – or his critics – imagine it to be.

Thrillers for Eggheads

by Alex Campbell

The two best spy stories in English are John Buchan's *Mr. Standfast* (1919), whose hero is Dick Hannay; and W. Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden* (1927), which is about a British spy called Ashenden who bears a strong resemblance to Somerset Maugham. Most secret agents who have since appeared in fiction have, as it were, the Hannay nose and the Ashenden mouth. They display traits of both prototypes. Perhaps somewhere down the line a Hannay married an Ashenden and all their children and grandchildren became spies. But Mendel's law has been at work. An almost imperceptible sorting out of genes has gone on. Now there are offspring who are concentrated Hannay, and others who are distilled Ashenden.

The James Bond Dossier
by Kingsley Amis
(New American Library; $3.95)
The Looking Glass War
by John Le Carré
(Coward-McCann; $4.95)

James Bond, Britain's fictional secret agent 007, affects the stylish cynicism of Ashenden, but is really Hannay in a modern sports car. Bond's cynicism is pure snob-appeal and is not even skin-deep. Hannay believed fervently that the world is divided into the good guys and the bad guys. So does Bond. Hannay was constantly up against devilish conspiracies to topple civilization. So is Bond. Bond, the hero of 13 best-selling thrillers published since 1953, was invented by the late Ian Fleming, who wrote Bond's adventures for fun and money and got a lot of both. It probably amused him that during his lifetime intellectuals searched the Bond books for sociological significance. The search continues.

As it is literally like looking in a coal-black cellar for a black cat that isn't there, not surprisingly it continues to fail. Kingsley Amis, Bond's latest analyst, attributes to Fleming the "huge virtue of never stooping to pretentiousness, of never going in for any kind of arty or symbolical flannel." It all boils down to the Fleming books not being a bore, unlike (Amis says) a lot of non-escapist literature. He proves the point: The only really lively bits of his own book are the frequent pas-

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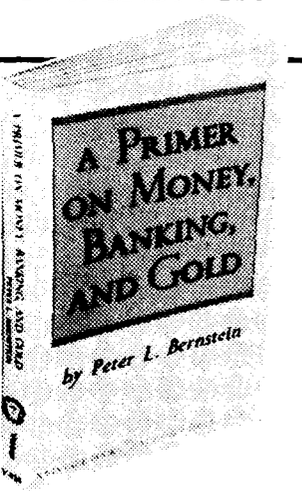

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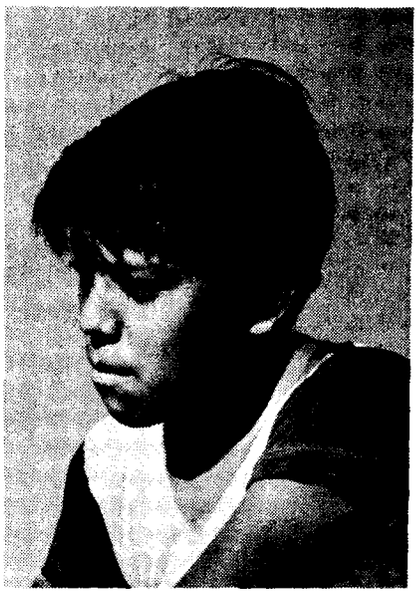

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sages quoted from the Bond stories.

The intellectuals who read Fleming evidently have a compulsion to convince themselves and others that they never read anything just for fun. Knowing this, Fleming obligingly stuffed the Bond books with irrelevant lore about London clubs, Bahama fish and Japanese plants. While enjoying the sexy blondes in a Bond book you can kid yourself you're really studying botany.

Bond's ostensible cynicism also lures the intellectuals: It makes their fun-reading seem like participation in social protest. But of course Bond, reflecting his creator Fleming, is a pillar of the power structure, as was Hannay, reflecting Buchan. (Hannay becomes Brigadier-General Sir Richard, and in real life John Buchan became Lord Tweedsmuir the Governor-General of Canada.)

Perhaps sensing this, anti-Establishment eggheads who read spy stories have lately turned away from Bond, toward the spies in the books of John Le Carré. Mr. Le Carré's spies come straight out of the cold war. He deals entirely in disillusionment and comparison with Maugham's *Ashenden* is a shocking disclosure of how low we have all sunk since. Ashenden had few illusions about the importance of his job (probably negligible), about his opponents (fallible human beings like himself) or about his official bosses (bureaucratic fumblers). But he is an optimistic idealist compared with Le Carré's boys. In the Le Carré stories, the commanders of the spy battalions are prissy and incompetent bureaucrats who live in seedy apartments with unloved alcoholic wives. The spies in the field are also incompetents, often cowards, and invariable losers.

Le Carré deliberately devotes almost as much of his space to the unloved wives at home as to the spies in the field with their knives and radios and secret codes. His stories are gray and gritty, and his prose is made to match. It is a strip of gray linoleum stretching into 1984. He is all the rage. As far as spy stories are concerned, maybe fun died with Fleming.

In the Shadow of the Presidency

by Gerald W. Johnson

Somewhere along the line Mr. Young lost his thesis, but he does very well without it. His title obviously refers to the maniacal activity called Russian Roulette, in which the player twirls the cylinder of a revolver loaded with one cartridge, then, without looking, puts the muzzle to his temple and pulls the trigger. Mr. Young's preface then deepens the impression that he considers our manner of choosing Vice Presidents a desperately dangerous game; so one may reasonably expect him to present the evidence.

American Roulette:
The History and Dilemma of the Vice Presidency
by Donald Young
with an introduction by
Senator Paul Douglas
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $6.95)

It never appears. Yet it would be manifestly unjust to accuse Mr. Young of deliberately suppressing it. A more plausible explanation is that he has succumbed to a sort of Rule of the Demure that makes it unpatriotic bad taste to call a spade a spade in describing the electoral process as it relates to the Presidency: . . . "such divinity doth hedge a king / That treason can but peep to what it would." Substitute "truth" for "treason" and you spoil the meter but improve the sense of the aphorism.

The fact is that in the perspective of history, of the 36 individuals who have held the Presidency, barely more than half a dozen were the best choices available at the time. The reason is self-evident. The Presidency is the most valuable political prize in the world today; therefore to clutch it, either directly or through a puppet, is the fiercest desire of every high-powered, supercharged scoundrel on the continent; and from a battle in which all the greatest villains in the country hap-

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pily engage, a candidate whose sole claim is merit is a bad bet to win.

The Vice Presidency, on the other hand, until quite recently has been, in Mr. Young's words, "an insignificant office sought only by insignificant men." This means that no land pirate of the stature of Captain Kidd will waste his time going after it; thus the man selected has always been – with the possible exception of the first Johnson – a comparatively decent citizen, usually with some ability.

The record sustains this theory. The incumbent cannot be fairly judged as yet because his record is still in the making; but of the seven other successor-Presidents three, Tyler, Theodore Roosevelt, and Coolidge, were distinctly superior to the Presidents they followed; two others, Fillmore and Arthur, were certainly as good; while the two who followed unquestionably great Presidents, Andrew Johnson and Truman, both exhibited unexpected strength and courage. Historians already rate Truman among the second-string Presidents, such as Madison, Theodore Roosevelt and Cleveland, and some put him very near the top of that group.

In short, the system in seven tests has never given us an utter failure, three times has worked an improvement, and twice has given us a President distinguished for integrity, courage, and power.

So what's the beef?

Apparently it is a matter of logic. Since the hammer of the pistol *might*, therefore it eventually *will* fall on the loaded chamber. Mr. Young, it must be admitted, presents a shuddery list of narrow escapes, and one high tragedy. He feels sure that Thomas Riley Marshall should have assumed the duties of the Presidency after Woodrow Wilson collapsed. True, Marshall was no Wilson, but neither was Wilson himself after he had become a paralytic; and the little Hoosier might have been a better leader than the great man whose judgment was certainly impaired by his affliction.

For the rest, Mr. Young has written a sparkling account of an office hitherto considered conspicuously dull. His history is a bit erractic, usually by omission, as when he lets us infer that Coolidge won an election instead of coasting in because Catholic-Protesant fanaticism had destroyed the opposition; and, since they won anyhow, he will not admit that the Democrats spotted Nixon two million votes when they nominated a Catholic; but the only important matter that he sweeps under the rug is the ugly aspect of Presidential contests, not Vice Presidential ones. Young ends with suggestions toward making the choice of the second man somewhat safer; but to some extent that has been done, now that candidate for President chooses his own running mate. All other suggested "reforms" are of problematical value; but something certainly should be done to fill a vacancy in the office of Vice President.

FILMS

Spanish Death and Life

To Die in Madrid (Altura)
La Tia Tula (United International)
Symphony for a Massacre (Seven Arts)

For many Americans who were born during the First World War, the Spanish Civil War was a baptism of internal fire – burning frustration. Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure was a humanitarian outrage and Haile Selassie prophesied accurately what our indifference to it would breed. The Japanese butcheries in China were horrible, still, Asia at that time was farther away than it is now. But Spain – Spain of the Popular Front and Pablo Casals, Unamuno and Picasso – that was another story. Here was progress in *our* world attacked by a group who candidly declared that they did not like the movement of the 20th Century and were determined to turn their country backward. Virtually helpless, we watched the course of murderous anti-history.

That war, and several others, are over; now more facts are in, more truth is out. Certainly an elected republican government was bloodily deposed by reactionary militarists, and a pro-Hitler government was installed which, essentially unchanged, is now pro-USA. None of that is forgotten; but what is most saliently commemorated in the documentary *To Die in Madrid* is that one million Spaniards – including plenty of women and children – were killed by both sides.

In those days we all went to see *The Spanish Earth*, a pro-Loyalist film made in 1937 by Joris Ivens with commentary and narration by Hemingway. This new film by Frederic Rossif, a Frenchman, narrated by (among others) John Gielgud and Irene Worth, tries to be impartial. The shock is not in Rossif's impartiality but in our tolerance of it. The greatest blow to steadfastness is that, after 30 years, all massacres, by both sides, look alike. Franco is no less a tyrant, no less a clerical toady using the willing Spanish Church as an anti-democratic weapon; but perhaps his chief offense

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is that he won and ruled. For, in the course of the war itself, he had no monopoly on civilian blood and cruelty, he had only better allies.

Rossif has called his picture "a film of remembrance," and indeed what one feels in watching this well-assembled, vivid documentary is almost nostalgia. Not only because some of us were younger then but because things that then seemed either possible or impossible have since both proved otherwise.

To modern Spain – for the second Spanish film in as many months after a long hiatus. *La Tia Tula* (Aunt Tula) in one way resembles two other films that, like it, have been highly praised: *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* and *Nobody Waved Goodbye.* Both the latter got figurative medals for art that in my view were merited only for honesty, and *La Tia Tula* is overvalued because it is, to put it precisely, not false.

It was adapted from a novel of principle versus humanity by Unamuno and tells of an attractive young woman who takes in her widowed brother-in-law and his two children after her sister's death. She is deeply religious, deeply fond of the children. Neither of these facts is a sufficient bulwark against the inevitable attempt on her by the lonely ex-husband, her revulsion, his subsequent proposal of marriage, her further revulsion. In a foolish flurry he gets involved with a teenager, makes her pregnant, has to marry her; and Tula, too late, has regrets, as she is abandoned. Aurora Batista is attractive and entirely convincing as Tula, Carlos Estrada is Iberically rent as the love-hungry man, and there is a nicely drawn bevy of Tula's lady friends. But once the story's premises are established, there is nothing for the viewer to do but sit around waiting for the inevitable; and it is irritating to be smarter than the characters in a film who can't see, as we do, what is bound to occur.

This is a first picture by a young man named Miguel Picazo, and aside from this matter of letting the audience outdistance him, he has directed with sympathy, reticence, skill.

Symphony for a Massacre sounds as if it had some connection with one of this century's disasters, but it is the wretchedly inappropriate title of an ex-

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ceptionally good French crook-melodrama. It uses the familiar framework of the well-planned crime that goes eventually awry and a gang of thieves who continually diminish in number. There is an added fillip; the police never enter the story. The screenplay is by Jose Giovanni (who plays one of the crooks), Claude Sautet, and Jacques Deray, from a novel by A. R. Fourton; these gentlemen have fashioned a clever little infernal machine, self-contained and self-propelled, that with nearly perfect logic destroys all concerned.

Claude Dauphin plays a measured, suave businessman of murder and crime. Charles Vanel is an older crook – a role like some recent ones of Gabin's, to which he brings a mellow, elder-statesman air. One of the authors, Deray, directed with unostentatious clarity. The misleading title presumably refers to the plot's polyphonic structure, but if it had to be musical, why not *Opus Posthumous?*

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

Radicals, Old and New

Sirs:

In Andrew Kopkind's article on the student organizers of the poor ("Of, By and For the Poor," June 19) he describes the League for Industrial Democracy as "a kind of camp for itinerant old leftist intellectuals – or those who think old." I am Chairman of the Board of the LID, but I write this letter as a personal opinion.

Obviously, I disagree with Mr. Kopkind's contemptuous dismissal of the LID. In fact, during the past four or so years, the League has followed a conscious policy of bringing in younger intellectuals and new ideas. As a result, Tom Kahn, our Executive Secretary is 26, I was named Chairman of the Board last year when I was 36, and the typical new members of the Board include Rennie Davis and Todd Gitlin, activists in Students for a Democratic Society, Norman Hill, Herbert Gans, Marvin Rich, Frank Reisman. We have indeed had difficult, and even stormy, relations with SDS, our youth affiliate, but we have always been particularly proud of their work as community organizers. Despite all differences, the LID has continued to subsidize the SDS to the tune of $8,000 to $10,000 a year which, in an organization as poor as ours, represents one of the largest items in our budget.

We have run civil rights institutes for Negro militants (mainly high school dropouts by the way) and are currently enlarging this program. Our pamphlets and reprints have been widely used by, among others, SDS, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Northern Student Movement and other groups in the "movement." We are at present working toward a major conference on national economic planning in America which has won initial support from segments of the civil rights, labor, religious, liberal and radical movements.

Now my main complaint to Mr. Kopkind is this: that he did not talk to anyone at the LID before he made his slur. He thus erroneously cites Bayard Rustin, who is our good and cherished friend, as one of the "League leaders," which he is not if only because his election to the Board is so recent that he has not even had the opportunity to attend a meeting. When I phoned Mr. Kopkind (I was, frankly, quite agitated to find the LID so gratuitously attacked in the columns of a magazine which I – and most League members – respect) he was unable to tell me who the "itinerant old leftist intellectuals" were. He could not even identify any member of the Board, much less the *active* members who actually set policy and tone (I would freely confess that our letterhead is probably over-stuffed).

Mr. Kopkind told me that he had formed his estimate of the LID by talking to our critics in SDS and by reading some critical articles on one or two Board members in the Village Voice and by reading a piece by one of my LID associates in, of all places, *The New Republic.* If anyone ever based a charge of Communism, or something like that, on such research, the SDS, Mr. Kopkind and I would be outraged. But telling us that we "think old" without bothering to find out what we think, who we are, and by the extraordinary method of consulting a few clips and some critics, is apparently good journalism.

Finally, one of the most unproductive, distressing aspects of much of the current discussion about the Left is the substitution of personal and organizational vituperation for substantive debate. It is unfortunate that Mr. Kopkind has fallen into that self-defeating style which consigns people to the dustbin of history – and divides the Left at a time of new possibilities and departures.

Michael Harrington
New York, N.Y.

In reply . . .

Poverty warriors of whatever politics are in Mr. Harrington's debt for his brilliant book of reportage, *The Other America.* At the point where politics begins to matter, however, he has his critics. I tried to report their opinions and criticisms. The idea for the article was suggested by two very long interviews with Norman Hill, one of Mr. Harrington's colleagues on the Board of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The New Left, which I was describing, is most jealous of its newness. It accuses the Old Left – and that includes almost everyone over 30 (and some under) unless proved innocent – of being defensively anti-Communist to the point of "red-baiting." When the

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SDS "Port Huron Statement" was drawn up, LID members feared the authors were going too far and there was a sharp break. SDS leaders told me that when SDS broached its plan for the recent March on Washington against the Administration's Vietnam policy, LID members tried to dissuade them. Perhaps more important than the anti-Communism issue is the difference between LID and SDS on the objectives of community action. In the students' eyes, the LID stands for the gradual expansion of New Deal-type welfare programs which will have the effect of improving living conditions for the poor, while bringing more and more of them into the middle class. The New Left organizers want to improve the poor's lot, too, but they say they seek to form a radical political force which can change the values of the whole society. Notwithstanding the inclusion of new young members on its Board, the LID continues to maintain positions closer to the Old Left than the New. SDS spokesmen, such as Rennie Davis and Todd Gitlin, have not changed the LID tone (there was considerable discussion within SDS about the wisdom of their accepting LID Board membership; some of the students still think they ought not to be represented). And despite the recentness of Bayard Rustin's elevation to the LID Board, he is widely recognized (and I'm sure that Mr. Harrington would not say unjustifiedly so) as an intellectual leader of the League.

ANDREW KOPKIND

The Dirksen Amendment

Sirs:

In *The New Republic* there has, for some months, appeared a steady stream of invidious references to the proposed Dirksen Amendment. . . . These allusions range in character from TRB's labeling of it as a device to save the "rotten boroughs" to Andrew Kopkind's repetition of the claim that it is "the most serious threat to civil rights since the end of Reconstruction." Entirely ignored in the determination to kill the *legislative* apportionment amendments at any price is the fact that the bulk of them are *permissive:* They propose to allow only one house of a legislature to be districted on a basis of geography as well as population *and then* only if the legislature wishes it and secures the approval of the voters in a state referendum. . . .

I have been asked by liberal friends in other parts of the nation – who automatically assume that progressive legislation can only be conceived by urban legislators – why California is in the forefront of the drive to secure an amendment. I reply that the only way was the differing interests and needs of such a varied and elongated state can be reconciled and accommodated is to assure adequate voice in the legislature for its various parts.

California stretches to a length of more than 800 miles: If it were situated on the East Coast it would run from Portland, Maine, to Florence, South Carolina. Moreover, its steep mountain ranges and wide deserts effectively seal off its regions from each other. *Adequate* voice for its sparsely settled, but minerally- and agriculturally-rich parts is not achieved by merely giving token *representation in the* Legislature – one Assemblyman and one Senator – to a district as large as Tennessee. . . .

I, for one, have no quarrel with the *Baker* v. *Carr* decision of 1962. When state legislators shamelessly disregard the commands of their own constitutions and the people have no recourse through the initiative process, there is clearly no relief available but through the judiciary. But I cannot abide a decision which brushes a mandate from the people themselves. . . . The false front of many of the "one man, one vote" crusaders is exposed by their abhorrence of the idea of letting the people settle the question. They have taken an eloquently appealing slogan and, somewhat dangerously, I think, fastened it onto one of the great moral issues of all time: equal rights for Negroes. By their sloganeering they hope to conceal the bald fact that their aim isn't Jefferson's "equal and exact justice" at all but plain, total political power. They would exchange untrammeled rural domination of some legislatures for unchecked urban domination in all. If this were not so, they would not recoil at putting the question to the people.

George Miller, Jr.
Senator
California Legislature

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